Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 5th to 11th Centuries

Edited by
Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Derek Krueger

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Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 5th to 11th Centuries forges a new conversation about the diversity of Christianities in the medieval eastern Mediterranean centered on the history of practice, looking at liturgy, performance, prayer, poetry, and the material culture of worship. It studies prayer and worship in the variety of Christian communities that thrived from late antiquity to the middle ages: Byzantine Orthodoxy, Syrian Orthodoxy, and the Church of the East. Rather than focusing on doctrinal differences and analyzing divergent patterns of thought, the essays address common patterns of worship, individual and collective prayer, hymnography and liturgy, as well as the indigenous theories that undergirded Christian practices. The volume intervenes in standard academic discourses about Christian difference with an exploration of common patterns of celebration, commemoration, and self-discipline.

Chapters by both established and promising, younger scholars interrogate elements of continuity and change over time – before and after the rise of Islam, both under the control of the Eastern Roman Empire and in the lands of successive caliphates. Groups distinct in their allegiances nevertheless shared a common religious heritage and recognized each other – even in their differences – as kinds of Christianity. A series of chapters explores the theory and practice of prayer from Greco-Roman late antiquity to the Syriac middle ages, highlighting the transmission of monastic discourses about prayer, especially among Syrian and Palestinian ascetic teachers. Another set of chapters examines the localization of prayer within churches through inscriptions, donations, dedications, and incubation. Other chapters treat the composition and transmission of hymns to adorn the liturgy and articulate the emotions of the Christian calendar, structuring liturgical and eschatological time.

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Abbreviations

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
ACOR	American Center of Oriental Research
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
ANRW	*Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
ARP II	Charles Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873–1874*, vol. 2 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1896)
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
CBM	William Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1871)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CIIP I/2	*Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* I/2: *Jerusalem: 705–1120*, edited by Hannah M. Cotton, et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012)
CIIP II	*Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* II: *Caesarea and the Middle Coast: 1121*–2160, edited by Walter Ameling, et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011)
CPA	Christian Palestinian Aramaic
CS	Cistercian Studies
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
ESI	*Excavations and Surveys in Israel*
FOTC	Fathers of the Church
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*
GEDSH	*Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock, Aaron Michael Butts, George Anton Kiraz and Lucas van Rompay (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2011)
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HA	*Hadashot Archeologiyot*

HA-ESI	*Hadashot Archeologiyot – Excavations and Surveys in Israel*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IGLJ II	*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Tome XXI: *Inscriptions de la Jordanie.* Tome 2: *Région central*, ed. Pierre-Louis Gatier (Paris: Geuthner, 1986)
IGLS IV	*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Tome IV: *Laodicée, Apamène: Nos. 1243–1997*, ed. René Mouterde and Claude Mondesert (Paris: Geuthner, 1955)
IGLS V	"Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie," ed. William H. Waddington, in Philippe Le Bas and William H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure: Inscriptions et explications* Part 2, Tome 5 (Paris: Didot, 1870)
IGLS XIII	*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Tome XIII, 1: *Bostra: Nos 9001 à 9472*, ed. Maurice Sartre (Paris: Geuthner, 1982)
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JSP	Judea and Samaria Publications
JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LA	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, *Liber Annuus*
LACL	*Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, ed. Siegmar Döpp and Wilhelm Gerlings (Freiburg: Herder, 1998)
MT	Masoretic Text [of the Hebrew Bible]
NEAEHL	*The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vols. I–V, ed. Ephraim Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993–2008)
NPNF	A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church
OrChr	*Oriens Christianus*
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PAES IIIA	*Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909*, Division III, Section A: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions: Southern Syria*, ed. Enno Littmann, David Magie, Jr., and Duane Reed Stuart (Leiden: Brill, 1916–1921)
PEF	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1869–1937
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66)
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
POC	*Proche-Orient Chrétien*
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RB	*Revue biblique*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*

ROC	*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*
RSR	*Revue de sciences religieuses*
SBF	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCI	*Scripta Classica Israelica*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SP	*Studia Patristica*
SWP III	Claude R. Conder and Horatio H. Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. 3: *Judaea* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883)
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina Vereins*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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Introduction

Prayer, worship, and ritual practice

Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Derek Krueger

At the end of antiquity, Christian communities in the Byzantine Empire separated into various polities, depending on whether they accepted or rejected the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. These divisions solidified and took on new meanings after the rise of Islam along the eastern and southern edge of the Mediterranean and in Mesopotamia.[1] Church officials within the Byzantium that remained enforced an orthodoxy in flux, a religious system still changing and developing, continuing to debate emerging forms of worship, including collective and individual prayer and the celebration of the eucharist. Beyond Byzantium's medieval borders in the world of emergent Islam, Christian traditions also continued to develop, drawing on their ancient roots while adapting to their geographic, linguistic, and political environments.[2] Christian division did not simply mean Christian difference. Before and after the rise of Islam, both under the control of the Eastern Roman Empire and in the lands of successive caliphates, groups distinct in their allegiances nevertheless shared a common religious heritage and recognized each other, even in their differences, as kinds of Christianity. By looking at prayer, ritual performance, liturgy, hymnography, and the material culture of worship, rather than focusing on doctrinal differences, we forge a new conversation about the diversity of Christianities in the late antique and medieval eastern Mediterranean, one centered on the history of practice.

While scholars have long explored processes by which these communities became and remained doctrinally distinct, the continuities and similarities in their religious practices merit more attention. Forms of prayer and worship developed in parallel, in part because of common origins, in part because of ongoing transmission across doctrinal, linguistic, and imperial boundaries. Shared ritual patterns maintained common elements even as they continued to be augmented in their various settings. Commitment to common biblical and patristic modes of thought and expression meant competing orthodoxies shared patterns of scriptural reading and interpretation. Even as church leaders worked to differentiate communities, they endorsed common theories of ritual efficacy, styles of the self, and communal expression that they shared with Christians they regarded as heterodox. In the chapters that follow, prayer books, liturgical rites, the material culture of ritual and devotional objects, and the architecture and inscribing of liturgical spaces provide evidence of shared patterns and shared expectation regarding Christian devotion.

The essays collected here shift the focus for the study of varieties of late antique and medieval eastern Christianities from the realm of theology to the realm of practice. This distinction, however, is fluid, productive, and problematic. Our interest in practice incorporates an interest in the development of theory. At the foundation of the modern academic study of religion, Émile Durkheim defined religion as a system of thought and practice.[3] Since the work of Catherine Bell and Talal Asad, however, scholars have come to appreciate that thought is itself a mode of practice, and that all religion consists in practice.[4] Ancient and medieval Christian sources provide both descriptions of religious actions *and* explanations for why they should be done the way they are done. In that sense theology and theorization are neither separate nor absent from religious practices. Sometimes assumptions about ritual remain implicit, while in other instances rubrics for prayer and worship – and the discourses about them – carry on elaborate theorization, not only instructions for how to conduct Christian ritual life but a native account of why.

Many of the following essays interrogate elements of continuity and change over time as forms of devotion moved from place to place, crossing boundaries of language and polity. The religious changes from late antiquity to the middle ages are perhaps most noticeable in the domain of prayer. In the second and third centuries of the common era, religious professionals and intellectuals, pagan, Jewish, and Christian, expressed grave doubts about the ancient religious systems, the efficacy of sacrifice and prayer, and the forces that govern human life, such as providence and fate. This period saw the decline of institutional sacrifices and the genesis of various substitutes. The very idea of sacrifice could be spiritualized. Greek philosophers developed the notion of "intellectual sacrifice," while the rabbis conceived the studying and interpreting of biblical rules concerning sacrificial worship in the Temple in Jerusalem – now destroyed – as a form of sacrifice in itself.[5] The slow and steady emergence of public and obligatory prayer in Judaism compensated for the end of Temple.[6] Although late ancient Jewish and Christian thought shared the conception of prayer as a substitute for sacrifice, Jewish discourse eschewed philosophical inclinations, and thus the discussion regarding prayer in late antique Judaism and in Christianity went in different directions.[7] Late antique Judaism never developed a theory of individual prayer, even though instances of prayer do feature in the mystical traditions, such as the Hekhalot literature, as well as in the nonmystical rabbinic tradition. Christians, by contrast, interrogated the mechanisms and functions of prayer, theorizing its centrality in Christian devotion.

In the second century and at the beginning of the third, in the milieu of Neoplatonic spirituality, sophists, philosophers, and Christian thinkers alike investigated how mortals and the gods, or God, communicated. In this context, ancient hesitations about the efficacy of prayer addressed to the gods reemerged at full strength. This philosophical impulse initiated a new discourse about prayer among Greek intellectuals – Christian and non-Christian alike – that pondered whether petitionary prayer was even necessary. What did a theory of prayer say about one's theory

of God? A new Christian doctrine of salvation demanded a new approach to individual prayer, one that saw prayer as a central technology of the self. As Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony demonstrates in the following chapter, these changes resulted in new definitions and theories of prayer among Christians as well as among Greek philosophers. Her analysis of the views of major figures – such as Maximos of Tyre, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Iamblichos, Porphyry, Evagrios of Pontos, and Isaac of Nineveh – reveals the historical complexity of the theorization of prayer in late antiquity. Second- and third-century Christian discourse about prayer matured in late fourth-century monastic culture. Theories of prayer continued to develop among all eastern Mediterranean Christian groups, reaching a pinnacle of sorts in the seventh-century east Syriac mystical milieu of Isaac of Nineveh, a figure treated here both by Bitton-Ashkelony and Sabino Chialà.

In his seminal book, *La preghiera secondo Origene*: *L'impossibilità donata*, Lorenzo Perrone has reexamined the conception of prayer in the work of Origen of Alexandria and traced its legacy from the second to the fifth century in eastern and western Christianities.[8] He has highlighted the deep affinity and ongoing negotiation with both the biblical texts and Neoplatonic religious anthropology. Origen used the biblical text itself, as *testimonia*, to justify the usefulness of various types of prayer. He also drew on Pauline theology regarding the function of the Spirit and the mind in prayer. For Origen, the Holy Spirit is the "master of prayer."[9] That is, God himself participates in prayer, cooperating with the person praying. Origen stressed that prayer combined both an interior and an exterior, or bodily, state (κατάστασις and σχῆμα). Prayer shaped the exterior disposition of the body, its movements, its orientation in its environment, and at the same time prayer offered an ascetic exercise that unified the body, soul, and spirit.[10] Late antique Christian discourse pondered these two dimensions of prayer, the interior and the exterior, and in this we can see Origen's undeniable influence on ascetic authors like Athanasios and Evagrios, even though sometimes these traces are blurred.

Even as prayer might be conceived as spiritual or intellectual, it remained a material practice. Chialà's investigation of Isaac of Nineveh uncovers the persistence of the body as a locus of prayer and shows the mutual impact of practice and theory upon each other. Isaac insisted on the integration of the body into the habits of prayer, refusing to see the prayer of the heart as a flight from the body. Instead, as Chialà demonstrates, Isaac stressed the importance of the physicality of prayer and the submissive postures appropriate to it: the prostrations, the continual falling upon the ground, the hands clasped or stretched out toward heaven. The practice of prayer thus inscribed an embodied anthropology.

The concept of prayer as conversation (ὁμιλία) with the gods, the One, or God in Greek philosophy and ancient Christianity proved both flexible and complex. At the same time, most prayer, whether individual or collective, was not extemporaneous but rather proceeded according to rubrics. Lay and monastic Christians alike organized their private and collective worship around chanting psalms at prescribed hours of the day.[11] Monastic communities regulated the practice of

gathering seven times during the day and once in the middle of the night to chant the Psalter together, finding biblical license in a verse from Psalm 118 [119]:164: "Seven times a day I praised you for the judgments of your righteousness." Monastic prayer offices combined the Psalter with other set prayers. Such practice was common to all eastern (and western) Christian monastic communities.

Most conversation with God was thus scripted. In the 360s, Athanasios, the bishop of Alexandria, composed the *Letter to Markellinos* as a sort of liturgical guidebook, encouraging each Christian not merely to regard the words of the Psalms as the words of King David or as prophecies of Christ, but rather to assimilate them as one's own, to sing them "as if they were written concerning him."[12] Many late ancient and medieval manuscripts of the Psalter included Athanasios's letter, together with works of Evagrios and other writers, as a preface, effectively governing the spiritual practices of chanting and interpreting the Psalms. Columba Stewart's contribution to this volume traces the reception of these and other instructions regarding the Psalms from Greek into Syriac monastic traditions. In his *Scholia on the Psalms*, Evagrios taught that the instrument of psalmody was the pure soul; the mind figures as a psaltery and the soul, a kithara. Singing psalms should change the temperament (κρᾶσις) of the body, bringing harmony. And in this, Evagrios followed Plato's teaching about the therapeutic effects of music.[13] Ancient teaching thus continued to shape the ways medieval Syrian ascetics engaged in prayer offices, carrying forward Athanasios's and Evagrios's interest in the affective power of set prayer. The Psalms offered building blocks for other prayers. As Isaac of Nineveh observed, "Most prayers, in fact, consist of words chosen from psalms containing ideas and sentiments of grief and supplication, or of thanksgiving and praise."[14]

The influence of the Bible on the language of Christian prayer is clearly evident also from epigraphic materials. As Leah Di Segni's chapter demonstrates, biblical quotations found their way to the floors, lintels, and walls of churches throughout Palestine, with the Psalms providing the majority of verses. Here scripture was repurposed for a variety of uses, but especially for apotropaic purposes, to protect against misfortune. This usage mirrors, in a popular and public context, private monastic practices of talking back to demons with verses from scripture in the struggle to dispel them.[15] Likewise the inscriptions discussed by Di Segni expose the varied spectrum of individual prayer in late antiquity. Public inscription of prayer thus highlights the problematic of personal prayer in late antiquity, the tension between the spontaneous or even sincere expression of prayer, and the persistence and preference for formulas.

Epigraphy can also attest the life of prayer spaces over time. Ann Marie Yasin observes the prayerful inscriptions adorning churches, monastic and lay, in and around the province of Palestine both before and after the rise of Islam to emphasize the dynamic of communal religious history.[16] She considers the impact that alterations and rebuilding of churches had on the experience of those who used them. Focusing on the surfaces of buildings, she examines how architectural changes affected the drama of prayer in the churches – how various spatial and structural alterations reoriented the worshipers' bodies, their movements, and their

attentions. These changes confirm, once again, the importance of the body in staging the religious drama in the church.

Churches were, first and foremost, venues for the celebration of the eucharist. All Christian communities practiced a eucharistic rite, and, by the fifth century, Christians distinguished themselves from other Christians by the forms of those rites and the texts that governed them.[17] The history of these prayers reveals a development from extemporaneous prayer to set prayer. The evidence of the New Testament suggests that in the first century, the communal meal shared at Christian gatherings already included Jesus' words at the Last Supper: "This is my body," "this is my blood" (1 Cor 11:24–25; Mt 26:26–27). The *Didache* (9:2–4) supplies a brief blessing to be recited at the breaking of the bread. The evidence of Justin Martyr confirms that in the middle of the second century the eucharistic prayers were extemporaneous. According to his *First Apology*, the man presiding over the congregation "offers up prayers and thanksgiving to the best of his ability"; Justin also says that these prayers were "lengthy."[18] The *Apostolic Tradition*, once attributed to Hippolytus of Rome and now believed to date from the third or fourth century, contains a set prayer for the anaphora but states that it is not necessary for the bishop "to say the same words we gave above, as though striving [to say them] by heart, when giving thanks to God; but let each one pray according to his ability," as long as the prayer is "soundly orthodox."[19]

Between the fourth and sixth centuries, however, prayers recited at eucharistic celebrations became fixed, recited aloud at each performance of the rite, although they varied widely in form and content from place to place.[20] A law promulgated by Emperor Justinian in 565 expressed concern over priests who recited the prayer incorrectly, indicating a clear expectation that the prayer itself was set, and required that the same prayer be said in each place and, moreover, audibly.[21] In fact, however, in this period, anaphoral prayers varied from region to region and from one doctrinal community to another, although in each place they tended toward standardization.

Perhaps just as significant, attitudes toward the eucharist varied widely even within a community. Volker Menze's chapter enumerates a range of understandings of the eucharistic rite – and more particularly the eucharistic bread – in congregations on either side of the Chalcedonian divide, where priests regarded the sacrament as a marker of orthodoxy, intending to bind and set the boundaries of the community, while lay people often invested the eucharist with magic properties able to guarantee health and protect against misfortune.

Just as monastic prayer structured the day, the emerging liturgical calendar shaped the Christian year. In the late fourth century, the Spanish pilgrim Egeria observed celebrations in Jerusalem that coordinated readings from the scriptures with celebrations at shrines associated with the life of Christ, including on Epiphany, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost.[22] This pattern disseminated from the Holy City throughout Christian communities. By the sixth century, Christians played out the narrative of the lives of Christ and of Mary over the cycle of seasons.[23] The days between festivals became associated with other biblical figures, as lectionaries apportioned readings from the Gospels throughout the year.[24]

In addition to prayers and readings, liturgical services incorporated music, and these popular compositions traveled from one place to another. Derek Krueger's chapter addresses one of the most famous hymns of the eastern churches, the seventh-century *Paschal Kanon*, attributed to John of Damascus. He attends its early performance at the Church of the Anastasis, or Holy Sepulcher, in seventh-century Jerusalem and follows its dissemination to ninth-century Constantinople. Even though the original melodies do not survive, the texts of these compositions offer insights into the ways that hymns shaped the emotional character of Christian worship. Hymns were so popular, and so effective in encapsulating the essences of key moments in the liturgical calendar, that festal songs crossed communal boundaries. Jack Tannous traces the *Paschal Kanon* and other Greek hymns as they traveled beyond their Byzantine Orthodox origins into the Syriac language and a variety of traditions, both Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian, providing a surprising unity of celebration across lines of doctrinal and linguistic division. Daniel Galadza's chapter returns to Jerusalem to chart the development of the Christmas liturgies of its various Christian constituencies. These liturgies drew from a common pre-Chalcedonian Greek source but adapted to differing linguistic and confessional identities. Our best early evidence for these liturgies is not in the original Greek but in Georgian translation. Later manuscripts attest to divergent and changing traditions among those celebrating in Greek as well.[25] To varying degrees, all communities in Jerusalem came eventually under the influence of liturgical forms imported from Constantinople, a process known as the Byzantinization of the Jerusalem liturgy.[26]

The holy places of Jerusalem offer yet another opportunity to observe church officials staging rites and shaping interior dispositions. Sergey Minov's chapter investigates how Christian leaders instructed their congregations about appropriate responses to death, encouraging congregants to temper mourning over family members. He provides the first critical edition and study of a narrative about excessive grief composed in late ancient or early Umayyad Palestine. The *Story of a Woman from Jerusalem* also reminds us of the localization of specific practices, since it presents incubation at the tomb of Mary just outside the eastern gate of the Holy City as a remedy for grief. In prescribing a therapy for grief at the Church of the Tomb of Mary in Gethsemane, the author contributes to the reputation of Mary as an intercessor and healer in seventh-century Jerusalem.[27]

Just as prayers and hymns structured liturgical time, they also informed expectations about linear time. The prayers of the anaphora recounted biblical history, casting it as the history of salvation. Hymnography dramatized grief at the fall of Adam and expectations of the last judgment.[28] In this volume, Hillel Newman compares Christian and Jewish eschatological hymns from sixth-century Constantinople and Palestine, investigating how hymnography might stir apocalyptic fears.[29] Newman also demonstrates the promise of comparative approaches that acknowledge the parallel development of Christian and Jewish religious forms. Here worship focused attention on salvation in troubled times and shows tight connections between liturgy an historical circumstances.

Without pretension to or interest in being comprehensive, this collection participates in a new history of late ancient and medieval eastern Mediterranean Christianities. As a group, our contributions highlight the performative aspects of prayer and worship and their implicit and explicit theorization. We hope that these chapters prompt further study of the transformation, transmission, and flexibility of practice among a variety of Christian communities.

Notes

1 For a rich account, see Sidney Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
2 See, for example, the various essays in Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Lorenzo Perrone, eds., *Between Personal and Institutional Religion: Self, Doctrine, and Practice in Late Antique Eastern Christianity*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).
3 Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 44.
4 Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). For a useful critique of the various theories of cultural performance, particularly Bell's theory, see Ronald L. Grimes, "Performance Theory and the Study of Ritual," in *New Approaches to the Study of Religion: Textual, Comparative, Sociological, and Cognitive Approaches*, ed. Peter Antes, Armin W. Geertz, and Randi R. Warne (Berlin: Gruyter, 2008), 109–38.
5 The notion of spiritual sacrifice has been studied from various perspectives. See, for example, Frances M. Young, "The Idea of Sacrifice in Neoplatonic and Patristic Texts," *SP* 11 (1972): 278–81; Everett Ferguson, "Spiritual Sacrifice in Early Christianity and Its Environment," *ANRW* 2.23.2 (1980): 1151–89; Scott Bradbury, "Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice," *Phoenix* 49 (1995): 332–41; Guy G. Stroumsa, *La fin du sacrifice: Les mutations religieuses de l'Antiquité tardive* (Paris: Jacob, 2005), 105–44; Andrei Timotin, "Porphyry on Prayer: Platonic Tradition and Religious Trends in the Third Century," in *Platonic Theories of Prayer*, ed. John Dillon and Andrei Timotin (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 88-107.
6 Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns*. Translated by R. Sarason (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977).
7 Among the earliest Christian authors to view prayer as a substitute for sacrifice was Aphrahat in his *Demonstration* 4, ed. J. Parisot, *Patrologia Syriaca* 1 (1894), cols. 137–82.
8 Lorenzo Perrone, *La preghiera secondo Origene*: *L'impossibilità donata* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2011).
9 Perrone, *La preghiera secondo Origene*, 323.
10 Perrone, *La preghiera secondo Origene*, 431, 458–63.
11 See Robert F. Taft, "Christian Liturgical Psalmody: Origins, Development, Decomposition, Collapse," in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical and Artistic Traditions*, ed. Harold W. Attridge and Margot E. Fassler (Leiden: Brill 2004), 7–32; John Arthur Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 198–206, 208–16; Brian Daley, "Finding the Right Key: The Aims and Strategies of Early Christian Interpretation of the Psalms," in *Psalms in Community*, ed. Attridge and Fassler (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 189–205.
12 Athanasios, *Letter to Markellinos* 11, trans. Robert C. Gregg, *The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus* (New York: Paulist, 1980), 109–10. Paul R. Kolbet, "Athanasius,

the Psalms, and the Reformation of the Self," *Harvard Theological Review* 99 (2006): 85–101; Columba Stewart, "The Use of Biblical Texts in Prayer and the Formation of Early Monastic Culture," *American Benedictine Review* 62 (2011): 188–201; Derek Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects: Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 17–23.

13 Luke Dysinger, *Psalmody and Prayer in the Writings of Evagrius Ponticus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 128.

14 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 14.43 (ed. Brock, 70–71 [Syriac], 80–81 [trans.]). On personal prayer as conditioned by the formal discourse of liturgy, psalms, and biblical texts, see Columba Stewart, "Prayer," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 744–63.

15 This practice is described in Evagrios's treatise *Antirrhetikos*, or *Talking Back*, which introduces a technique for struggling against demons and refuting temptations through the use of biblical verses. The most frequently cited book in this treatise is also the Psalms. Luke Dysinger, *Psalmody and Prayer in the Writings of Evagrius Ponticus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 136, David Brakke, trans., *Evagrius of Pontus, Talking Back (Antirrhêtikos): A Monastic Handbook for Combating Demons* (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian, 2009).

16 For innovative approaches to understanding church inscriptions, see Amy Papalexandrou, "Text in Context: Eloquent Monuments and the Byzantine Beholder," *Word and Image* 17 (2001): 259–83; Amy Papalexandrou, "Echoes of Orality in the Monumental Inscriptions of Byzantium," in *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. Liz James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 161–87.

17 See Volker Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 145–93.

18 Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 65, 67 (ed. E.J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten*, [1915, reprint, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984])

19 *Apostolic Tradition* 9 (ed. Bernard Botte, *Hippolyte de Rome: La tradition apostolique*, 2nd ed., SC 11bis [Paris: Cerf, 1968]); Allen Bouley, trans., *From Freedom to Formula: The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1981), 123.

20 A great number of these forms are collected in *Prex eucharistica: Textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti,* vol. 1, ed. Anton Hänggi et al (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1968).

21 Justinian, *Novels* 137.6; *Corpus iuris civilis* (ed. Wilhelm Kroll and Rudolf Schöll, 3 vols., [1895, reprint, Berlin: Weidmann, 1954], 3: 695–99); Robert F. Taft, "Was the Eucharistic Anaphora Recited Secretly or Aloud? The Ancient Tradition and What Became of It," in *Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East*, ed. Roberta R. Ervine (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2006), 38. For discussion of the law and the likely prayer form indicated, see Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 106–29.

22 John Wilkinson, trans., *Egeria's Travels*, 3rd ed. (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1999).

23 Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Calendar*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991); Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts, and Seasons in Early Christianity* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011); Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 66–105.

24 Job Getcha, "Le système des lectures bibliques du rite byzantine," in *La liturgie, interprète de l'écriture: I. Les lectures bibliques pour les dimanches et fêtes*, ed. Achille Maria Triacca and Alessandro Pistoia (Rome: Edizione Liturgiche, 2002), 25–56. Many eastern Christian lectionary schemas can be found at *Lectionaries Old and New,* http://www.bombaxo.com/lectionaries.html.

25 Daniel Galadza, "Sources for the Study of Liturgy in Post-Byzantine Jerusalem (638–1187 CE)," *DOP* 67 (2013): 75–94.

26 Daniel Galadza, "Liturgical Byzantinization in Jerusalem: al-Biruni's Calendar in Context," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* (terza serie) 7 (2010): 75–81.
27 Derek Krueger, "Mary at the Threshold: The Mother of God as Guardian in Seventh-Century Palestinian Miracle Accounts," in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 31–38; Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
28 For a retrospective on the fall, see Derek Krueger, "Beyond Eden: Placing Adam, Eve, and Humanity in Byzantine Hymns," in *Placing Ancient Texts: The Rhetorical and Ritual Use of Space*, ed. Mika Ahuvia and Alex Kocar (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming 2017).
29 On the relationship between Jewish and Christian hymnography in late antiquity, see Ophir Münz-Manor, "Liturgical Poetry in the Late Antique Near East: A Comparative Approach," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 1 (2010): 336–61.

1 Theories of prayer in late antiquity

Doubts and practices from Maximos of Tyre to Isaac of Nineveh

Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony

> In fact, prayer is a worthy subject of study in itself.
>
> (Iamblichos, *On the Mysteries* 5.26)

Criticism of petitionary prayer had a long tradition in the Greek philosophical milieu. Among the late antique authors expressing skepticism about the old religious conception of petitionary prayer was the second-century sophist Maximos of Tyre (c. 125–185), himself a product of Hellenizing processes in the Roman Empire.[1] As Guy Soury has crowned him, Maximos was a "*platonicien éclectique*" who did not adhere to any specific philosophical school, and seemed to be occupied in his *Orations* with a range of Platonic and Stoic issues burning and pervasive in his day.[2] Maximos discussed, in a personal and exceedingly enthusiastic tone, the nature of the Good, the sources of evil, the role of daemons (as entities in the Platonic sense), and the relationship of the divine to the world of human beings.[3] In his fifth oration, Maximos addressed the question: "Ought one to pray?"[4] This was not the question of a bored sophist, nor was Maximos the only one in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean world to deal with the issue of the efficacy of petitionary prayer. The *Orations* reflect a cultural and philosophical amalgam of their times, and the topics they address overlap with the concerns of Christian authors in the second and third centuries, such as whether prayer is necessary.[5] Maximos, however, remained silent about Christianity, its new alternative philosophy, and its view regarding interaction with the divine. He wrote his philosophical instructions in a provocative style to "young men," those who had already received a certain literary education but desired "some brushing up on philosophy" as part of their general *paideia*, or education.[6] He therefore popularized major questions dealing with ethics, theology, epistemology, and religious behavior and deliberately framed his *Orations* in simple terminology.

Maximos's *Oration 5* shares the debate about prayer in the Platonic tradition already evident in the pseudo-Platonic *Second Alcibiades*.[7] This debate extended beyond Maximos to the polemics of Porphyry (c. 234–c. 305) and Iamblichos (c. 245–c. 325) on prayer and theurgy and the way to encounter the divine. These topics were also taken up in early Christian literature by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and Pseudo-Makarios. What is interesting, however,

about Maximos's stance is his concerted effort to disconnect personal prayer from the old ruling forces of human life. Maximos asserted that providence (πρόνοια) is God's work, fate the work of necessity, skill the work of man, and fortune the work of blind chance; therefore, what need is there for prayer? The forces conditioning the march of events in the world make all petitionary prayers futile: "Nothing that falls under the heading of providence is to be requested or prayed for." Concerning fate he underscored: "Prayer is completely and utterly ridiculous" (*Or*. 5.4–5). Likewise, regarding things that result from fortune – what he termed an irrational, impulsive, and deaf power – prayer makes no sense. Moreover, he was convinced that some of the things people pray for in the hope of obtaining them are acquired rather by human skill. He acknowledged that Socrates, Pythagoras, and Plato used to pray (*Or*. 5.8); yet a philosopher's prayer, he explained, is not a request for what one does not have.[8] Rather, in line with Plato's *Laws* and the *Second Alcibiades*, he rejected the idea that one knows the good things to request from the gods.[9] Maximos undermined the old concept of petitionary prayer in the Greco-Roman world and detached it from the "life of virtues," namely, the philosophical life. This principle led him to configure an elitist conception and definition of prayer, thus drawing a fundamental distinction between the prayer of "others," which consists of requests, and the philosophers' prayer, which is "a conversation (ὁμιλία) or discussion with the gods about what he does have, and a demonstration of his virtue."[10] This approach to prayer, however, is not surprising in an author who perceived the philosophical realm and the life of philosophers as the pillar of the world: "If you deprive life of philosophy," he said, "you have removed from it the living, breathing spark that alone knows how to pray."[11] Maximos – like Seneca, for instance – rejected the idea of the omnipotence of fate and its compatibility with prayer.[12] It is difficult to assess the extent to which Maximos's discourse on prayer was pioneering and where he found the inspiration for his approach. We should keep in mind, however, that we do not know Maximos's debt to Aristotle's lost treatise *On Prayer* and that the notion of prayer as *homilia* goes back to Plato (*Laws* 4.716d).[13]

Christians both adopted and responded to these concerns. Whether or not Maximos's views on prayer should be considered as shifting the old paradigm of petitionary prayer in the Greco-Roman intellectual milieu, the fact that Clement of Alexandria voiced the same definition of prayer – that is: "Prayer is a conversation (ὁμιλία) with God" – is telling.[14] Unlike Maximos, however, Clement did not limit the "conversation with God" to a specific group of educated people and did not use this definition to exclude petitionary prayer. He believed that only those who know the divinity possess the virtue that accords with the divinity, know the true good to ask for, and can pray in an appropriate manner.[15] In line with Maximos, Clement discussed the topic of prayer in relation to God's providence, stressing that the piety of the Gnostikos – that is, the true Christian – is closely linked to the dynamic role of providence.[16] Clement grounded his arguments in biblical paradigms, saturated his discourse on prayer with Greek philosophical conceptions about divine nature, and rejected several Greek theories about the nature of the gods and their communication with human beings.[17] The immediate context of

Clement's discourse on prayer relates to the self-identity of the Gnostikos vis-à-vis others.[18] He aimed, in fact, to reshape the Platonic notion of *eusebeia*, or piety, rather than to offer a theoretical discussion, as Maximos had done, all the while criticizing a certain Prodikos, who considered himself a gnostic.[19] In contrast to such sects, Clement designated the lifestyle of the Gnostikos as a sacred feast (πανήγυρις), whose prayer is no longer circumscribed by any constraint of worship.[20] The Gnostikos does not pray in a specific place, nor in an elected sanctuary, nor on the fixed days of feasts, but "all his life" and in all places, whether he is alone or in the company of others.[21] Furthermore, Clement argued, piety toward God (θεοσέβεια) is not limited to hymns, discourses, and doctrines. Drawing on 1 Thessalonians 5:17 and Luke 21:36, Clement discarded ritualistic convention for the Gnostikos, such as the habit of prayer at fixed hours, stressing instead the view that the Gnostikos prays throughout his entire life. Christians should honor the Logos and through it the Father, he explained, not on any specific day but continuously.[22] Drawing on the concept of God's omnipresence and on biblical paradigms, Clement advanced the notion of interiorizing prayer and identified prayer as an "interior cry."[23] It is possible, therefore, to set aside the voice in addressing one's prayer, he said, and it is sufficient to expand interiorly all one's spiritual being (πνευματικόν) for producing an intelligible voice according to the unceasing reversion (ἐπιστροφή) toward God.[24]

Clement endeavored not only to detach Christian worship from its non-Christian environment but also to shift the discourse on prayer toward the contemplative realm. He did not, however, completely reject the prayer of request. "The request," he said, "is not redundant," since prayer is an occasion to be in conversation with God.[25] In effect, conceptualizing the life of the Gnostikos in terms of a "sacred feast" and breaching the boundaries of the emerging fixed rites were not enough for orienting Christians toward *theosebeia*, or devotion to God. Thus once Clement contextualized the Gnostikos in a transcendent sacred arena he returned to common patterns of honoring God: the performance of such pious activity as reading scripture, the chanting of psalms and hymns before eating and sleeping, and even prayer at night. Clement refrained from completely spiritualizing Christian worship because he conceived of sacred performances as a means through which the believer becomes one with the divine choir. He wished the Gnostikos to be transformed, to become *pneumatikos* and hence united with the Spirit.[26] Once the Gnostikos has attained the summit of elevation and associates intimately with the intelligible and spiritual realities, then he can pray to amplify his contemplation and expand his contact with the divine.[27] One who acquires knowledge of God, he explained, is a pious and religious person.[28]

The contemplative approach found in Clement's discourse on prayer is prominent in the works of Origen of Alexandria.[29] Like other intellectuals in the Mediterranean world, Origen addressed doubts about whether prayer was necessary, a concern that probably inspired him to write his *On Prayer*.[30] Furthermore, in an atmosphere of doubt regarding the old religious system, Origen was puzzled even more by Romans 8:26 and Paul's confession that "we do not know how to pray as we ought." He elaborated on the issue, much more systematically than Clement,

and attempted to resolve what might at first glance appear to be the most basic questions concerning prayer: How should we pray "as we ought," and "for what should we pray?" He produced a multifaceted treatise, marked by its reliance on biblical exegesis, and brought to the fore theological discussions of providence and free will. In this way, he abandoned the ruling force of chance for a doctrine of the providence of the guardian angels. In this vein, Origen provided in his *On Prayer* a commentary on the Lord's Prayer.

Origen framed the debate about the need for prayer in apologetic terms, as a contradiction between "atheism" and the Christian theology of providence and free will. All the while, he used prayer as a marker of Christian identity.[31] Those who believe that prayer is superfluous are "altogether atheists and deny the being of God," he argued, or are willing to talk about God "but take away his Providence" (*On Prayer* 5.1). He also identified a third class that concedes the doctrine of providence but rejects prayer on the grounds of God's determination and foreknowledge. A few decades later, Porphyry, a vigorous opponent of Christianity, would articulate similar arguments and distinguish between three classes of atheists.[32] Origen identified those who convinced others that "we ought not to pray" as those who reject "perceptible things entirely and practice neither baptism nor the eucharist." However, his immediate target was not so much the atheists, but those Christians who indeed "establish God over the universe and say that providence exists" (*On Prayer* 5.2).

Origen felt the need to elucidate the terminology of prayer and distinguish between the two Greek terms προσευχή, or prayer, and εὐχή, both "prayer" and "vow," anticipating and influencing the teachings of Gregory of Nyssa and Evagrios of Pontos at the end of the fourth century.[33] He also employed *testimonia*, biblical proofs that could confirm the efficacy of petitionary prayer. The parade of famous biblical figures' prayers, along with Origen's meticulous philological endeavors, proved formative for Christian theologies of personal prayer. In particular, Origen explored the individual's scope for salvation and encounter with the divine through prayer. Most important, he based the contemplative aspect of his discourse on prayer predominantly on biblical exegesis rather than on purely philosophical conceptions. For example, in a passage on prayer similar to that of Maximos, Origen (*On Prayer* 9.2) referred to conversing with the divine; he drew on Psalm 123:1: "To you have I lifted up my eyes, you who dwell in heaven," and Psalm 25:1: "To you, O God, have I lifted up my soul." Origen explained: "For the eyes of the mind are lifted up from their preoccupation with earthly things and from being filled with the impression of material things. And they are so exalted that they peer beyond the created order and arrive at the sheer contemplation of God and at conversing with Him." Both Maximos and Origen extolled the philosopher – "the holy person" as Origen called him – for turning away from earthly matters in his conversation with the divine. Drawing on Psalm 4:6 – "And the light of your countenance, O Lord, has been signed upon us" – he understood this state as partaking in some divine and intelligible radiance. Origen offered the following interpretation: "The soul is lifted up and, following the Spirit, is separated from the body. Not only does it follow the Spirit, it even comes

to be in Him." This is demonstrated, he clarified, by Psalm 25:1 – "To you, O God, have I lifted up my soul" – "since it is by putting away its existence that the soul becomes spiritual."[34] Origen linked 1 Corinthians 14:15 – "I will pray with the Spirit and I will pray with the mind also; I will sing with the Spirit and I will sing with the mind also" – with the disposition of prayer, stressing that one has to renounce malice and anger. He assumed that a man who has profited by praying in this fashion becomes more ready "to be mingled with the Spirit of the Lord" (*On Prayer* 10.2). Though the tone of his discourse on prayer is in many instances contemplative, Origen, unlike Clement, did not neglect the ritual aspect of prayer, or, as he phrased it, what according to habitual usage is named "prayer" – that is, the place, direction, kneeling, and time of prayer.[35] In effect, his masterful attempt to link the contemplative with the earthly component of prayer created a theory of prayer that substituted the ancient powers governing human life with other powers that dwell in the place of prayer – namely, the church. He conceived of it as a "gracious spot where angelic powers are placed near the throngs of believers," as well as the powers of the Lord and the spirit of the saints, both "those who have already fallen asleep . . . and those who are still alive" (*On Prayer* 31.5). Relying on Daniel 6:13 ("[He] makes his petition three times a day"), Origen stated that prayer ought to take place three times each day (*On Prayer* 12.2); yet in the same vein as Clement, he understood prayer also as a way of life: the entire life of the saint taken as a whole should constitute a single great prayer.

Origen advocated various prayers of request. He interpreted the most common biblical patterns of prayer and provided them with a theological basis, to which he devoted a considerable portion of his treatise *On Prayer*. At the same time, he elaborated a model of prayer with personal and communal dimensions that involves a cosmic scenario in which angels and demons take part. Basing himself on the typology of prayer in 1 Timothy 2:1, he wrote: "First of all, then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men" (*On Prayer* 14.2). Grounding his discourse on a series of biblical testimonies and theological conceptions, Origen attempted to convince his readers about the origin, necessity, and efficacy of each of these types of prayer. From this perspective, Origen did not shift the paradigm of personal prayer, despite his thoughtful theological foundations for various dimensions and patterns of prayer and his efforts to link the contemplative to the earthly by allocating a prime role to the Spirit. Yet he provided Evagrios of Pontos (d. 399) with a cosmological and theological doctrine that paved the way for such a shift.

Iamblichos and Porphyry on prayer: "Like must gravitate to like"

Deliberations on petitionary prayer continued to occupy philosophers at the end of the third century and seemed at times a burning issue, especially for those who belong to the Neoplatonic milieu and concerned with a technology for approaching the divine that they termed "theurgy." Denying the idea that the gods can be compelled and sharing the belief that the world-order is subordinated to God's

providence, philosophers found the question of how traditional rituals, such as sacrifices and prayers, could influence the gods to be problematic.[36] The controversy between Porphyry and Iamblichos – well articulated in Porphyry's *Letter to Anebo* and Iamblichos's answer in his *On the Mysteries* (composed between 280 and 305) – attests that both were engaged in this pivotal philosophical and theological problem regarding the practice of traditional piety.[37] Much of their discourse on prayer was framed by their deliberations on sacrifice, the conception of theurgic rites, the methods of salvation for the soul, and the techniques by which a mortal might unite himself with the gods.[38] Iamblichos, unlike Porphyry, did not seem to be disturbed by the rise of Christianity and its new scope for personal salvation.[39] Thus their views on prayer should be seen as an internal Neoplatonist debate primarily concerned with how to approach the gods. Iamblichos considered ritual theurgy to be the practice of divine acts performed by humans.[40] He argued that "it is not pure thought that unites theurgists to the gods . . . Indeed what, then, would hinder those who are theurgical philosophers from enjoying a theurgic union with the gods?" He envisioned a theurgic union attained by ineffable *acts* and by the power of unutterable symbols understood solely by the gods (*On the Mysteries* 2.11.96–97).[41] As Gregory Shaw puts it, theurgy was "supposed to intensify the presence on earth of higher beings through the performance of specifically designed rituals," a view that rests on Iamblichos's perception of the material world as theophany itself.[42]

One of the topics of contention between Porphyry and Iamblichos that had a direct effect on their views on prayer was the nature of the divine. According to Iamblichos, in Porphyry's attempt to distinguish between gods and daemons, he claimed that "gods are pure intellects" that are "unbending and not mingled with the sensible realm." Porphyry therefore raised the question as to whether it is proper to pray to them (*On the Mysteries* 1.15:45–46). Iamblichos responded unequivocally, "It is not proper to pray to any others. For that element in us which is divine and intellectual and one – or, if you so wish to term it, intelligible – is aroused, then, clearly in prayer, and when aroused, strives primarily towards what is like to itself and joins itself to essential perfection" (*On the Mysteries* 1.15:46). Iamblichos drew here on one of the major theurgic principles – namely, that an imprint or symbol of the One within the human soul provides not only a likeness to but also an opportunity for assimilation with the gods.[43] It is through prayer that this divine element in us joins the divine itself. Iamblichos thus pointed to Porphyry's chief problem with prayer: "It seems to you [Porphyry] incredible that the incorporeal should hear a voice, and that what we utter in prayer should have need of a further sense organ, and specifically of ears" (*On the Mysteries* 1.15:46).

Porphyry's view can be gleaned also from his letter to his wife, Markella, in which he embraced the Neoplatonic idea that one must transcend the language in the search for contact with the divine, a view already evident in the writings of his master, Plotinus.[44] Porphyry insisted: "It is not the tongue of the wise man that is worthy of honor in God's eyes, but rather his deeds. For a wise man in his silence honors God, but the foolish man, even when he is praying and offering sacrifice, defiles the divine. Therefore the wise man alone is a priest . . . he

alone knows how to pray" (*Letter to Markella* 16.276–281). Like Maximos of Tyre before him, Porphyry held that prayer represents the ideals of philosophical life; thus prayer "is especially appropriate for the virtuous, because it is a connection with the divine."[45] But Porphyry did not go so far as to describe the nature of such prayer. Moreover, he explained that tears and supplications do not move God, and "sacrifices do not honor God. Rather the God-filled intellect, firmly established, is united to God, for like must gravitate to like. The sacrifice of the ignorant is fuel for fire . . . but for yourself . . . let the intellect within you be a temple of God" (*Letter to Markella* 19.311–319). Iamblichos, however, rejected this view and accused Porphyry: "You are deliberately forgetting the facility of the primary causes for knowing and comprehending within themselves all that is inferior to them; for they embrace in unity within themselves all beings together." He concluded:

> So, then, it is neither through powers nor through organs of the senses that the gods receive into themselves our prayers, but rather they embrace within themselves the realizations of the words of good men, and in particular of those which, by virtue of the sacred cult, are established within the gods and united to them; for at that time, it is really the divine itself that is united with itself, and it does not communicate with the thoughts uttered in prayers as one different reality with another.[46]

Arguing in this way, Iamblichos deviated from the tradition that defined prayer simply as a conversation with the gods or God. Rather, it is through the performance of the sacred rituals and the embodiment of the words of good men that the highest form of prayer could be reached, not because of the power of the theurgist to call down the gods with their prayers, but because the gods were present already in the invocations.[47] As Shaw concludes: "Clearly, spontaneous prayer could not derive from discursive deliberation. It was, in fact, the *energeia* of the divine image in the soul yearning for its original."[48]

Iamblichos lingered over a precise obstacle evoked by Porphyry in this context: "But prayers of petition," (Ἀλλ᾽ αἱ λιτανεῖαι) you say, "are not suitable to be addressed to the purity of the intellect." "Not at all," Iamblichos replied:

> For the awareness of our own nothingness, when we compare ourselves to the gods, makes us turn spontaneously to prayer; and by the practice of supplication we are raised gradually to the level of the object of our supplication, and we gain likeness to it by virtue of our constant conversation with it, and, starting from our own imperfection, we gradually take on the perfection of the divine.[49]

By placing in his discourse on prayer these new emphases – the notion of likeness to the divine and perceiving prayer as a gradual process from imperfection to perfection – Iamblichos vindicated the practice of supplication. Yet the

recognition that the human soul is in an unbridgeable gulf that separates it from the gods is decisive in his doctrine of prayer: only in such a stage of consciousness would the human soul be stirred to pray.

Porphyry approached the issue from a different angle, all the while inserting within his discourse on prayer the role of sensation and a definition of the self: following Plato (*Symposium* 202E), he perceived the daemons as "transmitters" between the mortal and the divine. Thus, according to him, they also carry up "our prayers to the gods as if to the judges, and carry back to us their advice and warnings through oracles" (*On Abstinence* 2.38.3). Porphyry, by such a division, was accentuating the distinction between two sorts of worship, the material and the spiritual, conceiving of the upper level as an intellectual sacrifice (νοερά θυσία) of the philosopher (*On Abstinence* 2.45.4). Nothing perceived by the senses should be offered to the gods, Porphyry taught, "either by burning or in words"; rather, "we shall worship him in pure silence and with pure thoughts about him" (*On Abstinence* 2.34.1–2).[50] Indeed, silence became for Porphyry a favorite mode of ritual expression. The objective, according to him, is to achieve contemplation "of that which really is, and this achievement brings about . . . the joining of contemplator and contemplated. For the return is to one's real self, nothing else . . . and *one's real self is the intellect*, so the end is to live in accordance with the intellect" (*On Abstinence* 1.29.4).[51] Porphyry's turning back (ἐπιστροφή) toward the intellect/the self and orienting it toward the One did not imply any sort of prayer, but one must practice detachment from perception and impression (φαντασία) (*On Abstinence* 1.31.1).

Iamblichos, who was convinced that theurgic rites possess a transformative power and "reveal the vestiges of a divine presence,"[52] suggested a different theory in his *On the Mysteries*. Iamblichos introduced the central principles on which his own theory of prayer rested:

> I declare, then, that the first degree of prayer is the introductory, which leads to contact and acquaintance with the divine; the second is conjunctive, producing an accord in the communion of thoughts, and calling forth benefactions sent down by the gods even before we express our request . . . the most perfect kind of [prayer], finally, has as its mark ineffable unification [ἡ ἄρρητος ἕνωσις], which establishes all authority in the gods, and provides that our souls rest completely in them.[53]

Iamblichos conceived that this gradual schema of three levels of prayer measured out the whole range of interaction between the theurgic self and the gods. He explained:

> Prayer establishes links of friendship between us and the gods, and secures for us the triple advantage which we gain from the gods through theurgy, the first leading to illumination, the second to the common achievement of projects, and the third to the perfect fulfilment (of the soul) through fire.[54]

Iamblichos believed that the extended practice of prayer "nurtures our intellect" and greatly enlarges the receptive capacity of the soul for the presence of the gods. Moreover,

> It brings to perfection the capacity of our faculties for contact with the gods, until it leads us up to the highest level of consciousness; also, it elevates the dispositions of our minds and communicates to us those of the god.[55]

It is important to stress here that although Iamblichos and Porphyry engaged the intellect in their discourse on prayer and assigned to it a vital role, in both theories the intellect itself does not pray.

As we have seen here, doubt about the old religious system generated the question "Should one pray?" This topic of debate led to a new discourse on the role of prayer and its mechanisms. It is quite striking, however, that Plotinus did not take part in this deliberation and did not develop any contemplative theory of prayer, a theme that was neglected in his writings, while other forms of piety, such as magic, troubled his mind.[56] Probably, this omission has to do with his perception of the nature of the One – that is, its impersonal nature as God – so there is no need to address prayers to it.[57] Thus at the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth, it was Iamblichos who configured a new theory of prayer and offered an interpretative model of how prayer functions. According to this theory, prayer does not transform the theurgic self and render it divine, nor does it activate the divine element in the soul through *theoria*, but it awakens the self, which is filled with divine imprints. Iamblichos concludes: "In a word, it renders those who employ prayers, if we may so express, the familiar consorts of the gods."[58]

Proklos's theory of prayer: from *gnōsis* to *henōsis*

Iamblichos's innovative theory of prayer proved to be inspiring, and it stimulated further thoughts in later Neoplatonic circles, mainly in the works of Proklos (c. 412–485). In his *Commentary on the Timaeus*, written probably around 440, Proklos devoted a discussion to the subject of prayer (1.207.20–214.12) that could be considered a small treatise on prayer. Proklos – himself a leading figure in the Neoplatonic School in Athens – found it necessary that prior to all other things we should know something clear concerning prayer, "what its essence (οὐσία) is, and what its perfection is, and where it is instilled in the soul" (*On the Timaeus* 1.207.21–23). Proklos offered the most systematic theory of prayer of any late antique philosopher, an appropriation of, and a negotiation with, the Neoplatonic tradition on prayer, mainly with Porphyry and Iamblichos.[59] Writing in a different political and religious context, Proklos's discourse on prayer differs sharply from Maximos's deliberation on petitionary prayer and from Iamblichos's and Porphyry's stance, which was deeply tied to the world of sacrifice. Proklos grounded his theory in the religious tradition of the *Chaldaean Oracles* and theurgy. Like other Neoplatonists, he discussed the topic also in relation to the determination of the course of life by providence and fate, yet without the polemical tone of Maximos's,

Iamblichos's, and Porphyry's writings (Proklos, *On Providence* 38). Above all Proklos aimed, as he avowed, "to expound [Iamblichos's][60] theory of prayer so that it concords with that of Plato" and to present the theory in terms familiar to his audience in the Academy.[61] Indeed, Proklos discerned several causes (αἴτιας) and modes (τροπόι) of prayer and classified them in accordance with the genera of the gods and in accordance with the various categories of prayer, such as the philosophical, theurgic, and institutional practices of prayer. He further distinguished modes in accordance with the objects for which the prayers take place – for instance, on behalf of the salvation of the soul and external good – and modes in accordance with the time at which one performs the prayers (*On the Timaeus* 1.213.8–214.11).

In addition to this phenomenology of prayer, what seems to me significant and innovative in his theory is that Proklos considered prayer the aim of the movement of reversion (ἐπιστροφή) – that is, the ascent of the soul to its divine origin, to its causative principle – thus imagining the closing of the gap between a human being and the gods through hymns and prayers.[62] "It is to this reversion (ἐπιστροφή) that prayer is of the great utility. For it attracts to itself the beneficence of the gods, through those ineffable *symbols* which the father of the souls has disseminated in them. It unifies those who pray with those to whom prayer is addressed; it also links the intellects to the gods with the words of those who pray" (*On the Timaeus* 1.210.30–211.5). This prayer, which embodies a theurgic principle, has the force to unify the theurgic self with the divine. The will to pray, Proklos added, is the yearning of the *epistrophē* toward the gods, a yearning that directs and leads the soul toward the divine, which he observed as the primary work of prayer.[63]

Proklos concurred with Iamblichos's three-part theory of prayer, yet he proved to be creative and subtly divided the "perfect and true prayer" into a gradual schema of five stages that can be aptly described as an inner practice from *gnōsis* to *henōsis* of the soul with the gods, that is, from knowledge to unification (*On the Timaeus* 1.211.9–29). According to Proklos, the perfection and essence (οὐσία) of prayer consists first of knowledge of all the divine ranks, to whom those who pray seek access, since one cannot have intimate contact with the divine without knowing it.[64] The second stage is the process of familiarization (οἰκείωσις) with the divine by "becoming like the divine in respect of complete purity, chastity, education, and ordered disposition." Through the closest resemblance to the divine "we direct what is ours towards the gods, extracting their goodwill and submitting our souls to them." In the third stage of prayer, one enters into contact (συναφή) with the divine substance. The next stage is "the approaching [ἐμπέλασις], for this is what the oracle calls it," which enables us to achieve greater communion with the gods and have greater participation in their light – a sort of close encounter with the gods. Finally, in the last stage of prayer:

> There is unification [ἕνωσις], which establishes the one of the soul in the One of the gods, causing there to be a single activity of us and them, in accordance with which we no longer belong to ourselves but to the gods, remaining in the

> divine light and encircled in its embrace. This is the ultimate of true prayer, enabling it to link together the reversion with the [initial] rest, to re-establish in the unity of the gods all that proceeded from it, and to enclose the light in us with the light of the gods.[65]

Proklos recognized the vital role of prayer in the entire process of the soul's ascent: "It is through prayer that the ascent is brought to completion and it is with prayer that the crown of virtue is attained, namely piety toward the gods" (*On the Timaeus* 1.212.5–7). Furthermore, his synthesis here contains more than an assertion about the efficacy of prayer for the ascent of the soul. More than his predecessors, Proklos accentuated the notion that the *henōsis* of the human soul with the gods was the culmination of the performance of prayer. He thus marked a development in the doctrine of prayer, from the idea of prayer as praxis for awakening the divine element in the soul, to prayer as an inner ritual of ecstatic unification of the self with the divine.

Proklos's discourse on prayer attempts to harmonize various traditions dealing with prayer, "carrying the ideal of one comprehensive philosophy that should embrace all the garnered wisdom of the ancient world."[66] We should recall, however, that in his philosophical environment, philosophy was never a purely intellectual activity; it was also a style of life.[67] Thus it is not surprising that Proklos understood philosophy as the singing of hymns and the philosopher himself as a poet, an approach to philosophy that Henri Dominique Saffrey termed "Une prière et une liturgie continuelles."[68] Moreover, judging from Proklos's synthesis of prayer, it would be easy to agree with John Bussanich, who concludes in another context that in Proklos's thought philosophy, theology, theurgy, and mysticism are intertwined.[69]

Evagrios of Pontos's theory of pure prayer: the praying mind

Evagrios's coherent teaching on contemplative prayer, depicted in his trilogy *Chapters on Prayer*, *Reflections*, and *On Thoughts*, was one of the most inspiring and innovative theories for shaping the ascetic self in late antique eastern Christianities.[70] Viewing Evagrios's theory in the larger context of late antique Christian and non-Christian discourse on prayer reveals its radical originality in terms of its religious anthropology and technologies of the self. Evagrios's theory of pure prayer – which he also terms spiritual prayer and true prayer – offers a paradigmatic moment in eastern Christian history of the praying self, in which Clement's *eusebeia*, Origen's cosmology, Stoic philosophy, and the religious dynamic of the psychological theory generated in desert monasticism molded into a coherent synthesis.[71] In recent decades Evagrios's theory of pure prayer has been extensively discussed; I will, therefore, highlight only a few major differences with earlier theories on prayer in order to stress Evagrios's innovation.[72]

In Evagrios's model, prayer is a state of the mind rather than a prayed text or a request addressed to God (*Reflections* 4 and 26–27). Evagrios considered the *nous*, or

mind, the cardinal entity that prays. In a sense, he focused on the Pauline notion of prayer in 1 Corinthians 14:5 ("I will pray with the Spirit and I will pray with the mind also") and modified the prevalent Christian and non-Christian definition of prayer, which defined prayer as a conversation with the divine. Evagrios added the element of the mind: "Prayer is a conversation of the *nous* with God" (*On Prayer* 3). He perceived the very practice of prayer as "befitting the dignity of the mind, or indeed, the superior and pure activity and use of the mind" (*On Prayer* 84). The fundamental element in his theory is the ascent of the mind toward God (*On Prayer* 35), shining like a star in the moment of prayer, a state that indicates for Evagrios the highest level of the human encounter with the divine.[73] This sort of prayer requires ascetic practices, freedom from all distractions, the overcoming of negative thoughts (λογισμοί, or their personification as demons), struggle with the passions, and radical renunciation. It controls the irascible and concupiscible parts of the soul and rejects "mental representation tied to the passions" and derived from the senses or from memory (*On Prayer* 53, 61; *On Thoughts* 41). He contextualized his doctrine of imageless prayer in the ascetic culture of his day: those who long for pure prayer, he exhorted, must keep watch over their irascibility (θυμός) – that is, the power of the soul that is capable of destroying thoughts (*Reflections* 8) – control their stomach, restrict the use of water, keep vigil in prayer, and "knock on the door of scripture with the hands of virtue. Then impassibility of the heart will dawn for you and during prayer you shall see your mind shine like a star."[74]

Following Greek philosophical tradition, Evagrios identified the *nous* as the seat of representation (νοήματα) – the image evoked by the perception of a sensible object – and characterized prayer as "destructive of every earthly representation" (*Reflections* 26).[75] This imageless prayer is an inner technique for completely stripping from the mind mental representations that leave an impress upon it in order to approach "the Immaterial immaterially" (*On Prayer* 66). In other words, while in the philosophical theurgic tradition prayer was linked to the *epistrophē* of the soul and drew on the principle of the union of the like with the like, in the theory of pure prayer it was the *anabasis*, or ascent, of the mind to God, approaching the divine by laying aside every sort of mental representation (*On Prayer* 70). In a subtle manner, Evagrios depicted the dynamic nature of the mind during prayer:

> Sometimes the mind moves from one mental representation to another, sometimes from one contemplative consideration to another, and in turn from a contemplative consideration to a mental representation. And there are also times when the mind moves from the imageless state to mental representations or contemplative considerations, and from these it returns again to the imageless state. This happens to the mind during the time of prayer (*Reflections* 22).

By stressing the central role of the mind and expanding the philosophical definition of prayer, Evagrios marked a radical shift in the psychological and anthropological

discourse on prayer in late antiquity. He merged the ascetic and monastic impulses with the transcendent thought, but at the same time he disconnected his discourse from the Neoplatonic current of thought that was guided by the logic of theurgy as well as from the theological and exegetical context of the Lord's Prayer.

Unlike Origen, who devoted the second part of his treatise *On Prayer* to a commentary on the Lord's Prayer and Gregory of Nyssa's treatise *The Lord's Prayer*, Evagrios's trilogy includes no such systematic commentary.[76] Although he drew on several biblical phrases and metaphors, his impulse was rather to frame a contemplative doctrine within ascetic psychology and to explain how mental techniques enable pure prayer. Even so, the biblical metaphors and verses provided him with the theological argument for the theophanic experience and the imageless aspect of this prayer, such as seeing light and yearning to reach the "place of God" during prayer. "When the mind has put off the old self and shall put on the one born of grace [cf. Col. 3:9–10], then it will see its own state in the time of prayer resembling sapphire or the color of heaven; this state Scripture calls the place of God that was seen by the elders on Mount Sinai [cf. Exod. 24:9–11]."[77]

Evagrios, however, developed an idiosyncratic theory. His interpretations of the taxonomy of prayer transmitted in 1 Timothy 2:1, previously interpreted by Origen and Gregory of Nyssa, is a remarkable example of his new approach. Here the experience of the mind becomes paramount. Prayer (προσευχή), Evagrios explained, is above all a state of the *mind* (κατάστασις νοῦ), destructive of every earthly concept. In this state the mind is illuminated solely by the light of the Holy Trinity (*Reflections* 26–27). "A petition [δέησις] is the likeness of the mind toward God through supplication" (*Reflections* 28). As for the third type of prayer, he used the term εὐχη in the traditional sense of a vow, "a willing undertaking of good things" (*Reflections* 29).[78] With regard to intercessory prayer, he more closely followed Origen's conception, saying: "Intercession [ἔντευξις] is an entreaty brought to God by a superior being concerning the salvation of others."[79] However, one of the major features of Evagrios's theory is that unlike Gregory of Nyssa, who perceived the effect of prayer as a "union with God," Evagrios did not go so far as to claim unification with the divine.[80] In one rare case, however, and in line with Gregory of Nyssa, he claimed that through true prayer the monk becomes equal to the angels in his longing to see the face of the Father. Nevertheless, he advised against harboring any desire to perceive angels, powers, or Christ with the senses, lest the monk go completely insane.[81]

From pure prayer to non-prayer

With the translation of Evagrios's writings into Syriac from the end of the fifth century on, we witness the fusing of his insights with Syriac ascetic transcendent thought and the nourishment of its discourse on prayer, in addition to other indigenous concepts.[82] Syriac authors continually reinterpreted the theory of pure prayer and endeavored to comprehend what happens to the mind in "the moment of prayer." Among the Syriac authors who dealt with this theory and

were deeply influenced by it was the seventh-century author Isaac of Nineveh. He quoted Evagrios by name and asked: What is prayer, and what are pure prayer and spiritual prayer or non-prayer?[83] In one case he asked straightforwardly: "What is a conversation [ܫܝܚܬܐ] with God?"[84] This question reflected the complexity and ambiguity inherent in Evagrios's theory. Isaac worked with the assumption that there are many paths for this conversation and that not every path will prove successful for everyone. Conversing with God in prayer comes about through stillness, and stillness comes with the stripping away (ܫܟܝܚܘܬܐ) of the self, "emptying of the mind of all that belongs here, and a heart which has completely turned its gaze to a longing for the future hope."[85] A considerable part of Isaac's teaching narrates the praying self's struggle to reach an awareness of the experience of hidden worship. At the same time, he insists on the limit of the mind's activity during prayer.[86] With Isaac, we get the sense of his context, a community of monks studying together, striving to understand this theory in concrete terms and from within the walls of their monastic cells. Isaac disclosed the psychological and spiritual curiosity shared by many people who are desirous of knowing the stage they have reached. Such concern was far from Evagrios. It seems that more than two hundred years after ascetic culture had established itself in the heart of the monastic elite, monastic teachers felt the need to clarify not so much the necessity of contemplative prayer, but its exercise. However, while extolling the concept of "hidden prayer" and "hidden worship," Isaac did not neglect the function of the body. Rather, Isaac valued outward postures and visible forms of prayer, such as prolonged kneeling.[87] In the worship of the mind (ܦܠܚܢܐ ܕܫܝܚܬܐ), he clarified, the body is not without labor, "even though the body may be very weak, seeing that the labor of the mind dries up the body, making it like dry wood."[88]

Drawing on the fifth-century author, John of Apamea's tripartite anthropology – the level of the body (ܦܓܪܢܝܐ), the level of the soul (ܢܦܫܢܝܐ), and the level of the spirit (ܪܘܚܢܝܐ) – Isaac attempted to explain the close link between these levels and the three stages of prayer.[89] Isaac asserted that on the level of the spirit, there are no longer prayer and thoughts. The mind is beyond prayer, and prayer has ceased from it. Instead, the mind is stilled, not having knowledge of anything. Human nature, he explained, remains in a certain ineffable and inexplicable silence.[90] Yet the mind does not lose the contemplative capacity: "there is *a gaze of wonder* [ܚܙܝܬܐ ܕܬܡܗܐ] at the inaccessible things which do not belong to the world of mortal beings . . . this is the 'unknowing.'"[91] Isaac explained that it is not a matter of the human will: "For those who at the time of prayer, or it may be at another time, those who are stirred by an intellect which yearns for God, are reduced to a state of silence and dismay by the spiritual vision and the mysteries (they behold)."[92]

Isaac described the culmination of prayer as a contemplative experience, adopting Evagrios's view of the theophanic experience of pure prayer as articulated in Evagrios's *Reflections* 4 and 27 and quoting him by name. "The state of the intellect is the summit of intelligible reality; it resembles the color of the heaven. . . . When the intellect strips off the old person and through graces puts on the new, then it sees its state at the time of prayer to resemble sapphire, the color of the heaven,

which was named the place of God."[93] In another discourse about pure prayer, Isaac depicted with deep sensitivity the dynamic of the mind's activity during pure and undistracted prayer.[94] What is remarkable in his description is his emphasis that "this does not mean that the mind is entirely devoid of any thought or wandering of any kind," assuming that "you are wise enough not to require of the mind motionlessness – as do the fools." Instead, he described the ministry of the mind (ܥܘܒܕܐ ܕܗܓܝܢܐ), the sensation of various stirrings and the recollection of the mind, the apperception of God (ܕܟܪܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ), and the wonderment of the mind (ܥܘܒܕܐ ܕܬܡܗܐ) that is free from all images during prayer, allowing it to mingle (ܫܠܝ) with God.[95]

Isaac did not configure a new theory of prayer, although his teachings include profound insights on the performance of inner worship. Rather, he was the most illuminating interpreter of Evagrios's theory of prayer. He felt the perplexity and the tension inherent in Evagrios's theory – since it did not really explain the practice of prayer and what happens to the mind, soul, and body in such a state. That is, his discourse on prayer seeks to make explicit what Evagrios left blurred, and he offered his audience what they probably were eager to know:

> The most precious and the principle characteristic in pure prayer is the brevity and smallness of any stirrings, and the fact that the mind simply gazes as though in wonder during this diminution of active prayer. From this, one of two things occurs to the mind . . . either it withdraws into silence, as a result of the overpowering might of the knowledge which the intellect has received in a particular verse; or it is held in delight . . . and the heart cultivates it with an insatiable yearning of love.[96]

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This chapter has surveyed the debate on the efficacy of prayer and the development of perceptions of prayer in the late antique Mediterranean world, emphasizing the move from a concern with prayer to the gods to a concern with the praying self. Two theories predominated, shaping the transcendent behavior and thought of Christian and non-Christian alike: theurgic prayer and the praying *nous*. The new trajectory began with Maximos of Tyre's question "Should one pray?" which reflects doubts about the old religious system, all the while setting a hierarchy of prayer in which the prayer of the philosopher ranks as a true prayer. As scholars have observed, there is a clear link between the destruction of temples and the eradication of public liturgy in the Greco-Roman world and the trend among philosophers to interiorize prayer and liturgy. Philosophy itself became a cult of the gods, as was demonstrated in the case of Proklos. In early Christianity, however, along with the general tendency to interiorize worship, it seems that 1 Corinthians 14:5 ("I will pray with the Spirit and I will pray with the mind also; I will sing with the Spirit and I will sing with the mind also") provided one of the foundations for such an approach to prayer. Origen used it already in his *On Prayer* (1.4).

New discourses on individual prayer emerged in the Mediterranean ascetic world of the fourth and fifth centuries. The clearest examples are the theories

of prayer produced by Evagrios of Pontos, in which the naked mind participates in theophanic experience, and by Proklos, who emphasized unification with the divine. Proklos's theory proves relevant not for tracing direct links with Christian doctrines of prayer but for grasping the religious dynamics and the way in which intellectuals in fifth-century philosophical circles understood the efficacy of religious ritual as a vehicle for interaction with the divine. Iamblichos's and Proklos's writings show no intensive preoccupation with Christianity.[97] Yet their stimulating effect on Pseudo-Dionysios's appeal to theurgy, and the concepts of divine hierarchy and the *henad* as the first degree in the hierarchy of the gods below the One, are beyond any doubt.

Since the nineteenth century, scholars have pointed to Pseudo-Dionysios's dependence on Proklos in vocabulary and on the structural level.[98] Pseudo-Dionysios said nothing unique about prayer.[99] Nevertheless his corpus – which had been translated into Syriac in the early sixth century – had a significant impact on Syriac authors who were engaged in the lively discourse on prayer – among them, the East Syriac monastic author John of Dalyatha, who was active in monastic circles in the region of the Qardu Mountains (in Turkey) in the eighth century.[100] He embraced the concepts of divine hierarchy, *henads*, and "unknowing," as well as the language of the return to the One. Above all, he followed Pseudo-Dionysios in shaping spiritual progress in three stages: purification, illumination, and unification.[101] All echo Proklos's conceptions. But John of Dalyatha worked not only with doctrines reminiscent of the "Christian Proklos" (that is, Pseudo-Dionysios), but also with the major Evagrian theory of pure prayer and its original elaboration in Syriac Christianity, mainly by Isaac of Nineveh.[102] Like Isaac, Dalyatha also subscribed to a theory of prayer that engaged the entire self and promoted various techniques of prayer for reconstituting the self and encountering the divine.[103]

Isaac of Nineveh's interpretation of the Evagrian legacy on pure prayer supplied a powerful strand in Syriac Christianity that imagined the access to God through the praying mind. In a sense, Syriac Christianity ritualized the Evagrian lore. By stressing the notion of the limit of the mind and the concept of non-prayer, Isaac tried to resolve the tension inherited from Evagrios, who built on the fundamental claim that God is above all perception and thought (*On Prayer* 4). Indeed, the discourse on prayer had become wrapped in a mystical garment, and the encounter with the divine was perceived in terms of wonder and mingling with the divine. At the same time, the theology of liturgy and the liturgical commentaries moved on, in both eastern and western Christian culture.

Notes

1 Guy Soury, *Aperçus de philosophie religieuse chez Maxime de Tyr, platonicien éclectique: La prière – la divination – le problème du mal* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1942), 15–38. Soury offered a detailed analysis of Maximos's *Oration 5* and juxtaposed his ideas with those of other philosophers, demonstrating the eclectic nature of Maximos's conception of prayer. For Maximos's life, the rhetorical form of his works and their context, see Michael B. Trapp, introduction to *Maximus of Tyre: The Philosophical Orations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), xi–lv. Aaron P. Johnson discussed the

cultural and ethnic identity of Maximos in his *Religion and Identity in Porphyry of Tyre: The Limits of Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 235–41.

2 For the Greek edition and translation, see Maximos of Tyre, *Maximus Tyrius: Dissertationes*, ed. Michael B. Trapp (Leipzig: Teubner, 1994); Maximos of Tyre, *Maximus of Tyre: The Philosophical Orations*, trans. Michael B. Trapp (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997). See also an annotated English translation by Pieter W. van der Horst, "Maximus of Tyre on Prayer," in *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 2, *Griechische und Römische Religion*, ed. Hubert Cancik, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Peter Schäfer (Tübingen: MohrSiebeck, 1996), 324–37.

3 On the philosophical context and style of the *Orations*, see Trapp's excellent introduction (*Maximus of Tyre: Philosophical Orations*, xi–xcvi); also, Jacques Puiggali, *Étude sur les Dialexeis de Maxime de Tyr: Conférencier platonicien du II*e *siècle* (Lille: Université de Lille III, 1983).

4 Maximos, *Orations* 5, ed. Trapp, 37–45; trans. 42–50.

5 Jean Daniélou, "Origène et Maxime de Tyr," *Recherches de science religieuse* 34 (1947): 359–61.

6 Trapp, *Maximus of Tyre: Philosphical Orations*, xxi, xli.

7 Gilles Dorival, "Païens en prière," in *Prières Méditerranéennes hier et aujourd'hui*, ed. Gilles Dorival and Didier Pralon (Aix-en Provence: Publication de L'Université de Provence, 2000), 87–101; Lorenzo Perrone, *La preghiera secondo Origene: L'impossibilità donata* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2011), 86–88. For a recent comprehensive study on *Oration 5*, see Andrei Timotin, "Le discourse de Maxime de Tyr sur la prière (*Dissertatio 5*) dans la tradition platonicienne," in *Maxime de Tyr, entre rhétorique et philosophie au IIe siècle*, ed. Philippe Hoffmann and B. Pérez-Jean (Marseille: PULM, forthcoming). See also *Second Alcibiades*, 138b, 140–143, 148b–c, 149b–c (ed. Joseph Souilhé [Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981]). On the debate on prayer in the *Second Alcibiades*, see Dieter Zeller, "La prière dans le *Second Alcibiade*," *Kernos* 15 (2002): 53–59; Giorgio Scrofani, "La preghiera del poeta nell' *Alcibiade Secondo*: Un modello filosofico e cultuale," *Kernos* 22 (2009): 159–67.

8 On the notion of prayer according to Plato and its separation from sacrifice, and the development in Socratic prayer, see Darrell Jackson, "The Prayers of Socrates," *Phronesis* 16:2 (1971): 14–37.

9 Édouard des Places, "La prière des philosophes grecs," *Gregorianum* 41 (1960): 253–72; Édouard des Places, "La prière cultuelle dans la Grèce ancienne," *RSR* 33 (1959): 343–59; Édouard des Places, *La religion Grecque: Dieux, cultes, rites et sentiment religieux dans la Grèce antique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1969), 153–70. Des Places, (*La religion Grecque*, 153) uses the term "La prière culturelle," which represents for him the prayer of the Greeks in general, stressing the difficulty in distinguishing between prayer in poetic texts and in philosophical compositions. See also André Motte, "La prière du philosophe chez Platon," in *L'expérience de la prière dans les grands religions*, ed. Henri Limet and Julien Ries (Louvain-la-neuve: Centre d'histoire des religions, 1980), 173–204. For a phenomenological approach to prayer in ancient Greece, see Danielle Aubriot-Sévin, *Prière et conceptions religieuses en Grèce ancienne jusqu'à la fin du Ve siècle avant J.-C.* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992), especially the concluding chapter, 497–535; Simon Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 56–69.

10 Maximos of Tyre, *Orations* 5.8 (ed. Trapp, 45; trans. Trapp, 49). Puiggali (*Étude sur les Dialexeis de Maxime de Tyr*, 278–79) stresses that Maximos's definition is not of Platonic origin since Platonic prayer always consists of requests. For prayer of requests, see also Hendrik Simon Versnel, "Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer," in *Faith Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. Hendrik Simon Versnel (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 1–63.

11 Maximos of Tyre, *Orations* 5.8 (ed. Trapp, 45; trans. Trapp, 50).
12 Seneca, *Natural Questions* 2.35, 37 (ed. Paul Oltramare, 2 vols. [Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1929]).
13 As noted already by Trapp, *Maximus of Tyre: Philosophical Orations*, 41. See also Dorival, "Païens en prière," 99. On the authenticity of the lost dialogue *On Prayer*, see Barbara Botter, "Il Dio dell'Aristotele perduto," *Dissertatio* 30 (2010): 45–72.
14 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 7.7.39.6; 7.7.42.1, ed. Alain Le Boulluec, *Clément d'Alexandrie: Les Stromates: Stromate VII*, SC 428 (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 140–41, 146–47; André Méhat, "La prière dans le monde gréco-romain," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, XII (Paris: Beauchesne, 1986), cols. 2202–11; André Méhat, "Sur deux définitions de la prière," in *Origeniana Sexta: Origène et la Bible*, ed. Gilles Dorival and Alain Le Boulluec (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1995), 115–20. At this stage of research it is difficult to share Méhat's view that Maximos and Clement had a common source for their definition of prayer – namely, the lost Aristotle dialogue *On Prayer*. It is good to recall, as Alain Le Boulluec has mentioned (*Clément d'Alexandrie: Les Stromates*, 141), that Clement used the term *homilia* also to describe the conversation of biblical figures with God – for instance, *Stromateis* 6.12.104.1.
15 Clement, *Stromateis* 7.39.1 (ed. Le Boulluec, 138–39).
16 Clement, *Stromateis* 7.42 (ed. Le Boulluec, 146–49).
17 For example, Clement, *Stromateis* 7.36.5–37 (ed. Le Boulluec, 134–37). Alain Le Boulluec, "Les Réflexions de Clément sur la prière et le traité d'Origène," in *Origeniana Octava: Origene e la tradizione alessandrina*, ed. Lorenzo Perrone (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 2003), 397–407 (republished in Alain Le Boulluec, *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne: Clément et Origène*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes 178 [Paris: Collection des Études Augustiniennes, 2006], 137–49).
18 Lorenzo Perrone, "Prayer and the Construction of Religious Identity in Early Christianity," *POC* 53 (2003): 260–88.
19 Clement, *Stromateis* 7.7.41.1–6 (ed. Le Boulluec, 144–45), with Le Boulluec's notes on this passage in which he refers to previous studies.
20 Clement, *Stromateis* 7.49.3 (ed. Le Boulluec, 166–67); 7.40.3 (ed. Le Boulluec, 142–43).
21 As Le Boulluec has noted (131, n. 4), the idea of the entire life as fest can be traced to Greek philosophy.
22 Clement, *Stromateis* 7.35.1–6 (ed. Le Boulluec, 128–31).
23 Clement, *Stromateis* 7.39.6 (ed. Le Boulluec, 140–41): Ps 38:13; 7.37.1 (ed. Le Boulluec, 134–35).
24 Clement, *Stromateis* 7.43.5 (ed. Le Boulluec, 150–51).
25 Clement, *Stromateis* 7.41.6 (ed. Le Boulluec, 146–47); 7.42.1 (ed. Le Boulluec, 146–47).
26 Clement, *Stromateis* 7.49.4 (ed. Le Boulluec, 166–67); 7.44.5 (ed. Le Boulluec, 152–55).
27 Clement, *Stromateis* 7.45.1 (ed. Le Boulluec, 156–57).
28 Clement, *Stromateis* 7.46.4 (ed. Le Boulluec, 158–59); 7.47.3 (ed. Le Boulluec, 162–63).
29 Origen's *On Prayer* has gained great scholarly attention in recent years, particularly by Lorenzo Perrone in his seminal study *La preghiera secondo Origene: L'impossibilità donata* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2011). See now *Origenes Über das Gebet*, intro. and trans. Maria-Barbara von Stritzky, Origenes: Werke mit deutscher Übersetzung 21 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014). I shall, therefore, limit the discussion here to a few remarks reflecting the debate on the necessity of petitionary prayer.
30 Origen, *On Prayer* 5.1–3, ed. Paul Koetschau, *Origenes Werke*, GCS 3 (Leipzig, 1899), 308–9. For a thorough analysis of the Christian debate on prayer in the second and third centuries, particularly for Origen's view, see Perrone, *La preghiera secondo*

Origene, 90–121. See also his earlier discussion, Lorenzo Perrone, "La prière des Chrétiens selon Origène," in *Prières Méditerranéennes*, 201–21.

31 Origen, *On Prayer* 5.2 and 6, (ed. Koetschau, 308 lines 23–24 and 311 lines 9–13). On Origen's use of prayer as an element of Christian identity in *Against Celsus*, see Lorenzo Perrone, "Prayer in Origen's *Contra Celsum*: The Knowledge of God and the Truth of Christianity," *Vigiliae Christianae* 55 (2001): 1–19.

32 Porphyry, *On the Timaeus of Plato*, fr. 28, ed. Angelo R. Sodano, *Porphyrii iin Platonis Timaeum commentariorum fragmenta* (Naples: Istituto della stampa, 1964), transmitted by Proklos, *On the Timaeus* 2.207.23–208.3, ed. Diehl, trans. Harold Tarrant, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). The three classes: atheists who deny that the gods exist and reject the assistance that prayer gives; those who admit that the gods exist but wholly reject providence; and those who admit that the gods exist and exercise providence, "but affirm that everything they cause occurs by necessity . . . the benefit of prayer is destroyed." For a discussion of this passage and Porphyry's view on prayer, see Andrei Timotin, "Porphyry on Prayer: Platonic Tradition and Religious Trends in the Third Century," in *Platonic Theories of Prayer*, ed. John Dillon and Andrei Timotin (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 88–91. For a recent study on Porphyry's works and philosophy, see Johnson, *Religion and Identity in Porphyry of Tyre.*

33 On this terminological distinction, see Perrone, *La preghiera secondo Origene*, 125–40.

34 On this passage, see Perrone, *La preghiera secondo Origene*, 454–63.

35 Origen, *On Prayer* 10.2. Perrone (*La preghiera secondo Origene*, 151–76) highlights the two aspects of prayer in Origen as an act of the soul and the body.

36 John Dillon has clearly articulated the problem in his "Iamblichus' Defence of Theurgy: Some Reflections," *The International Journal of the Platonic Tradition* 1 (2007): 30–31.

37 On Porphyry's views on religious practice, including theurgy and his controversy with Iamblichos, see Andrew Smith, *Plotinus, Porphyry and Iamblichus* (Farnham: Ashgate, Variorum, 2011), chapters 18 and 19. On Iamblichos's views on the relationship of philosophy to religion in *On the Mysteries*, see ibid., chapter 24.

38 Andrei Timotin, "La théorie de la prière chez Jamblique: Sa function et sa place dans l'histoire du platonisme," *Laval théologique et philosophique* 70 (2014): 563–77. Timotin concludes that Iamblichos's theory of prayer is in fact "une théorie de la médiation entre les hommes et les dieux," and that "en cette qualité, elle a remplacé la démonologie médio-platonicienne en assumant sa function explicative dans le domaine de la religion." This replacement, Timotin claims, corresponds to the general diminishment of the explanatory function of demonology in late antiquity. On this subject see also Andrei Timotin, *La démonologie platonicienne. Histoire de la notion de* daimōn *de Platon aux derniers néoplatoniciens*, Philosophia Antiqua 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

39 On Porphyry's anti-Christian polemic, particularly in his work *Against the Christians*, see Andrew Smith, "Philosophical Objections to Christianity on the Eve of the Great Persecution," in *The Great Persecution*, ed. Vincent Twomey and Mark Humphries (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 33–48, republished in Smith, *Plotinus, Porphyry and Iamblichus*, chapter 23.

40 Gregory Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

41 On Iamblichos's theory of prayer, see John M. Dillon, ed. and trans., *Iamblichi Chalcidensis in Platonis dialogos commentariorum fragmenta*, Philosophia Antiqua 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 407–11; Crystal Addey, "The Role of Divine Providence, Will and Love in Iamblichus' Theory of Theurgic Prayer and Religious Invocation," in *Iamblichus and the Foundation of Late Platonism*, ed. Eugene Afonasin, John Dillon, and John F. Finamore (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 133–50.

42 Gregory Shaw, "Theurgy: Rituals of Unification in the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus," *Traditio* 41 (1985): 1. See also Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul*. On this aspect of theurgy, see Patricia Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 31–33.
43 On Iamblichos's doctrine of the "one of the soul" and its theoretical centrality for the practice of theurgy, see Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul*, 118–26.
44 On Plotinus's view on prayer, see Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, "'More Interior Than the Lips and the Tongue': John of Apamea and Silent Prayer in Late Antiquity," *JECS* 20 (2012): 308–10.
45 Porphyry, *On the Timaeus* fr. 28 Sodano, trans., H. Tarrant. This passage is quoted also by Timotin, "Porphyry on Prayer," n. 18. On the debate about prayer in Origen and Porphyry, see W. A. Löhr, "Argumente gegen und für das Gebet. Konturen einer antiken Debate (im Anschluss an Oriegens und Porphyrios)," in *Oratio: Das Gebet in patristischer und reformatorischer Sicht*, ed. Emidio Campi, Leif Grane, and Adolph Martin Ritter, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 76 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 87–95; A. Dihle, "Das Gebet der Philosophen," in *Oratio: Das Gebet in patristischer und reformatorischer Sicht*, ed. Emidio Campi, Leif Grane, and Adolph Martin Ritter, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 76 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 23–41.
46 Iamblichos, *On the Mysteries* 1.15:47, Édouard Des Places, ed., *Les mystères d'Égypte [par] Jamblique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966), 36; Iamblichos, *Iamblichus: De mysteriis*, trans. Emma C. Clarke, John M. Dillon, and Jackson P. Hershbell (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 58–59 (modified).
47 Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul*, 111–12.
48 Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul*, 12.
49 Iamblichos, *On the Mysteries* 1.15:47–48, 36 (trans. 58–61).
50 For the anticipation of this idea in Plotinus's distinction between two kinds of prayer, contemplative and magical, see Timotin's conclusion in "Porphyry on Prayer," 101–103.
51 Italics are mine.
52 As Shaw terms it in "Theurgy: Rituals of Unification," 1.
53 Iamblichos, *On the Mysteries* 5.26.237–38 (ed. Des Places, 177; trans. Clarke, 275).
54 Iamblichos, *On the Mysteries* 5.26:238; trans. Clarke, 275. For the function of fire here, see the interpretation of the translators (Clarke, 275, n. 356), according to which "fire" should be understood in the *Chaldaean Oracles*' sense, that is, the immaterial fire of divine power.
55 Iamblichos, *On the Mysteries* 5.26.238.12–239.4.
56 Plotinus's well-known phrase "alone to him alone" is one of the cases in which he relates to prayer. See *Enneads* 5.1.6.8–11, ed. Arthur Hilary Armstrong, *Plotinus,* Vol. 5. LCL (London: Harvard University Press, 1984), 28–29.
57 On the nature of Plotinus's One, see, for example, John Bussanich, *The One and Its Relation to Intellect in Plotinus*, Philosophia Antiqua (Leiden: Brill, 1988).
58 Iamblichos, *On the Mysteries* 5.26.239.9–10.
59 I refer to Ernest Diehl's edition, *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903). For the French translation, André-Jean Festugière, *Proclus: Commentaire sur le Timée*, II (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1967), 27–36; Proklos, *Proclus: Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 2.2, trans. David T. Runia and Michael Share (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 25–50.
60 I follow here Dillon's reading that Porphyry is referring to Iamblichos (Dillon, *Iamblichi Chalcidensis*, 407).
61 Proklos, *On the Timaeus* 1.209.9–12. Proklos himself prays to the gods to open the doors of his soul so that he might obtain the doctrine divinely inspired by Plato (Proklos, *On the Parmenides* 1.617–18). As Henri Dominique Saffrey has observed, in this milieu Plato himself became a god and his treatises a kind of holy scriptures. Henri Dominique Saffrey, "Quelques aspects de la spiritualité des philosophes

néoplatoniciens: De Jamblique à Proclus et Damascius," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 68 (1984): 169–82 (173).

62 On hymns as *epistrophē*, see Robbert Maarten van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns: Essays, Translations, Commentary*, Philosophia Antiqua, 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2001). Van den Berg (19–22, 86–110) stresses the mechanisms of theurgy at work in Proklos's hymns.

63 Proklos, *On the Timaeus* 1.221.21–24. Henri D. Saffrey, "From Iamblichus to Proclus and Damascius," in *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality*, ed. Arthur Hilary Armstrong (New York: Crossroad, 1986), 250–65. Saffrey believes (253) that "the celebration of divinity has become an entirely intellectual process; it is *religio mentis*."

64 On Proklos's divine hierarchy, see Van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns*, 38–40.

65 Proklos, *On the Timaeus* 1.211.24–31; trans. Runia and Share, *Commentary*, 47–48 (slightly modified). Proklos elucidates how the one of the soul functions in the highest mystical stage in his *On the Parmenides* 6.1071.20–1072, with John Bussanich, "Mystical Theology and Spiritual Experience in Proclus' *Platonic Theology*," in *Proclus et la théologie platonicienne*, ed. Alain-Philippe Segonds and Carlos Steel (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 2000), 302–3.

66 Erik R. Dodds, *Proclus: The Elements of Theology*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), xxv. For such an approach, for instance, concerning the doctrine of the soul, see Heinrich Dörrie, "La doctrine de l'âme dans le Néoplatonisme de Plotin à Proclus," *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 2 (1973): 42–60.

67 Pierre Hadot, *Exercices spirituels et philosophie antique* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1987).

68 Saffrey, "Quelques aspects de la Spiritualité," 169.

69 Bussanich, "Mystical Theology."

70 Evagrios's *Chapters on Prayer* was transmitted under the name of Nilos of Ancyra (PG 79: 1165–1200). The best edition, properly attributed to Evagrios, is that of the *Philokalia* 1.176–89. The Greek text of *Reflections* was published by Joseph Muyldermans, "Note additionnelle A: Evagriana," *Le Muséon* 44 (1931): 369–83. For the treatise *On Thoughts*, I used the French edition, edited by Paul Géhin, Claire Guillaumont, and Antoine Guillaumont, *Évagre le Pontique: Sur les pensées*, SC 438 (Paris: Cerf, 1998). For a full survey regarding the history and nature of this trilogy, see Antoine Guillaumont, *Un philosophe au désert: Évagre le Pontique*, Textes et Traditions 8 (Paris: Vrin, 2004), 125–27, 131–33; and Robert E. Sinkewicz, who provides an introduction to the history of these treatises and English translations in his *Evagrius of Pontus: The Greek Ascetic Corpus: Translation, Introduction, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 136–216. See Columba Stewart, "Imageless Prayer and the Theological Vision of Evagrius Ponticus," *JECS* 9 (2001): 182, who suggests viewing these three works as "a trilogy on the psychodynamics and theology of prayer."

71 The link between Evagrios's teaching on prayer and his cosmological views is central in Stewart's "Imageless Prayer." Guillaumont (for example, *Sur les pensées*, 17–28) demonstrated that Evagrios's debt to Stoic philosophy is undeniable.

72 See, mainly, Gabriel Bunge, *Das Geistgebet: Studien zum Traktat De Oratione des Evagrius Pontikos* (Cologne: Luther-Verlag, 1987); Gabriel Bunge, "The Spiritual Prayer: On the Trinitarian Mysticism of Evagrius of Pontus," *Monastic Studies* 17 (1987): 191–208; Stewart, "Imageless Prayer"; Guillaumont, *Un philosophe*, 298–306. On Evagrios's contemplative exegesis in relation to prayer, see Luke Dysinger, *Psalmody and Prayer in the Writings of Evagrius Ponticus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 62–103.

73 Evagrios, *On Thoughts* 43*; Reflections* 2. On the dynamic of the mind and light, see also *On Prayer* 73–74; *Gnostikos* 45 (ed. and trans. Guillaumont and Guillaumont, *Le Gnostique*, 178–81); Antoine Guillaumont, "La vision de l'intellect par lui-même dans la mystique évagrienne," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 50 (1984): 255–62 (reprint in Guillaumont, *Etudes sur la spiritualité*, 143–50); Guillaumont,

Un philosophe, 302–06. On the role of the *nous* in prayer according to Origen and Evagrios, see also Dominique Bertrand, "L'implication du νοῦς dans la prière chez Origène et Évagre le Pontique," in *Origeniana Septima: Origenes in den Auseinandersetzungen des 4. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfgang A. Bienert and Uwe Kühneweg, BETL 137 (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1999), 355–63; Dominique Bertrand, "Force et faiblesse du *Nous* chez Evagre le Pontique," *SP* 35 (2001): 10–23.

74 Evagrios, *On Thoughts* 43. For the monastic and Origenist context of Evagrios's imageless theory, see Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy: Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 43–76.

75 The Aristotelian and Stoic sources of this doctrine are discussed by Géhin, Guillaumont, and Guillaumont, *Sur les pensées*, 23–28. Evagrios explains the difference between mental representations that leave an impress and those that do not. See Evagrios, *On Thoughts* 41 (ed. Géhin, Guillaumont, and Guillaumont, *Sur les pensées*, 292–97; trans. Sinkewicz, *Evagrius of Pontus*, 181). Stewart ("Imageless Prayer") offers a lucid synthesis on how this mental technique works. For a discussion of the concept of representation in relation to *logismoi*, see Kevin Corrigan, *Evagrius and Gregory: Mind, Soul and Body in the 4th Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 78–82; Julia S. Konstantinovsky, *Evagrius Ponticus: The Making of a Gnostic* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 33–40.

76 For Origen's commentary on the Lord's Prayer, see Perrone, *La preghiera secondo Origene*, 195–239. See also Gregory of Nyssa, *De oratione dominica*. *De beatitudinibus*, ed. Johannes F. Callahan, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* VII, 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 7–74; Gregory of Nyssa, *St. Gregory of Nyssa: The Lord's Prayer. The Beatitudes*, trans, Hilda C. Graef, ACW 18 (New York: Newman Press, 1954). Paul de Lagarde long ago identified a ninth-century manuscript from Egypt that contains a short text in Coptic on "The Lord's Prayer" ascribed to Evagrios (published in *Catenae in Evangelia aegyptiacae quea supersunt* [Göttingen, 1886], 13–14). Guillaumont (*Un philosophe*, 156–57) concludes that there is no clear evidence in favor of or against Evagrios's authorship of this text.

77 Evagrios, *On Thoughts* 39 with Guillaumont, "La vision de l'intellect par lui-même dans la mystique évagrienne," 255–62; Guillaument, *Un philosophe*, 302–6. See also William Harmless and Raymond R. Fitzgerald, "The Sapphire Light of the Mind: The *Skemmata* of Evagrius Ponticus," *Theological Studies* 62:3 (2001): 498–529.

78 Like Origen, Gregory of Nyssa (*On the Lord's Prayer, Sermon* 2, 21) made a distinction between εὐχή, a vow, and προσευχή, a prayer.

79 Evagrios, *Reflections* 30. See also Cassian, *Conferences* 9; Columba Stewart, *Cassian the Monk* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 106–9. As Stewart has observed, these four kinds of prayer are not structures or "forms" of prayer; they are rather attitudes or stances; it "tells more about Cassian's understanding of the monastic trajectory than it does about the biblical text he is interpreting."

80 Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Lord's Prayer* 1.8. For a general reassessment of Evagrios's and Gregory of Nyssa's views on mind, soul, and body in the philosophical context, see Corrigan, *Evagrius and Gregory.*

81 Evagrios, *On Prayer* 113 and 80. Gregory of Nyssa, *The Lord's Prayer* 1.8–9: "Prayer is a conversation with God and contemplation of the invisible. It satisfies our yearnings and makes us equal to the angels."

82 The Syriac translation of Evagrios's *Chapters on Prayer*, comprising only 35 of the 153 chapters, was published by Irénée Hausherr, "Le *De oratione* d'Évagre le Pontique en Syriaque et en Arabe," *OCP* 5 (1939): 7–70 (the Syriac text, 11–16). For new Syriac fragments, see Paul Géhin, "Les versions syriaques et arabes des *Chapitres sur la prière* d'Évagre le Pontique: quelques données nouvelles," in *Les Syriaques transmetteurs de civilisations. L'expérience du Bilad El-Shâm à l'époque omeyyade*, vol. I, ed. Jabre Mouawad, Patrimoine Syriaque, Actes du Colloques IX, Antélias,

Liban (Paris: Centre d'Études et de Recherches Orienteles-L'Harmattan, 2005), 181–97. For another Syriac recension discovered in Sinai, which differs from the recension published by Hausherr and includes chapters 24–119 of Evagrios's *Chapters on Prayer*, see Paul Géhin, "Fragments patristiques des Nouvelles découvertes du Sinaï," *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 6 (2009): 67–93 (81).

83 Isaac discusses the various aspects of prayer in many of his discourses, known under the heading of three collections. See, for example, *Discourses: First Collection* 22 [Syriac 163–175] and 74 [Syriac 508]. The Syriac text of the *First Colletion* was edited by Paulus Bedjan, *Mar Isaacus Ninivita: De perfectione religiosa* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1909). See the English translation of Discourse 22 and excerpt from Discourse 74 in Sebastian Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian, 1987), 250–63. On Isaac's interpretation of Evagrios's teaching on prayer, see Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, "The Limit of the Mind (*NOUS*): Pure Prayer according to Evagrius Ponticus and Isaac of Nineveh," *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 15 (2011): 291–321.

84 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection*, 30.2, ed. Sebastian Brock, *Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian): "The Second Part," Chapters IV–XLI*, CSCO 554–555 (Louvain: Peeters, 1995), 122; trans., 134.

85 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 63 (ed. Bedjan, 440) and 74 (ed. Bedjan, 508), both trans. Brock, *Syriac Fathers*, 250–51. On the different connotations of the term *msarrqûtâ* in different sources, see Sebastian P. Brock, "Radical Renunciation: The Ideal of *msarrqûtâ*," in *To Train His Soul in Books: Syriac Asceticism in Early Christianity*, ed. Robin D. Young and Monica J. Blanchard (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 122–33.

86 For a recent survey of Isaac's discourses on prayer in the three collections, see Chapter 2 in this volume.

87 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 6.4 (ed. Brock, 17; trans., 20–21); 14.13, (ed. Brock, 59; trans., 69–70), with Patrik Hagman, *The Asceticism of Isaac of Nineveh* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 63–74, and Chapter 2 in this volume.

88 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 24.1–2 (ed. Brock, 109–10; trans., 121–22). On the discipline of the body, soul, and spirit, see *Discourses: First Collection* 43 (ed. Bedjan, 346–49). On the ministry of the mind, see also *Discourses: Second Collection* 35 (ed. Brock, 139–43; trans., 151–55), with Hagman, *Asceticism*, 136–39.

89 On John of Apamea's writings and theory of silent prayer, see my article "'More Interior Than the Lips and the Tongue': John of Apamea and Silent Prayer in Late Antiquity," *JECS* 20 (2012): 303–31.

90 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 32.5 (ed. Brock, 131; trans. 143).

91 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 22 (ed. Bedjan, 175; trans. Brock, *Syriac Fathers*, 263). This phrase should be related to Pseudo-Dionysius's notion of unknowing. On Dionysius and unknowing, see Charles M. Stang, *Apophasis and Pseudonymity in Dionysius the Areopagite* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 136–52.

92 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 35.2 (ed. Brock, 140; trans., 151).

93 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 22 (ed. Bedjan, 174; trans., Brock, *Syriac Fathers*, 263). On the Syriac translation of *Reflections* 27 and the debate in modern scholarship about the translation, see Gabriel Bunge, who recently tackled this topic in his lecture "Du grec en syriaque et en arrière: Les mésaventures d'une citation d'Évagre le Pontique," in *Saint Isaac the Syrian and His Spiritual Legacy*, ed. Hilarion Alfeyev (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, forthcoming).

94 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 15 (ed. Brock, 73–76; trans. 84–87).

95 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 15.10–11 (ed. Brock, 76; trans., 87). See also *Discourses: Second Collection* 35 (ed. Brock 139–43; trans., 151–55); *Discourses: Second Collection* 4.2, (ed. Brock, 1; trans. 1.)

96 Isaac of Nineveh, *Centuries on Knowledge*, 66, translated in Brock, *Syriac Fathers*, 268.

97 Christianity did not totally escape Proklos's mind. See, for example, Philippe Hoffmann, "Un grief anti chrétien chez Proclus: l'ignorance en théologie," in *Les chrétiens et l'hellénisme. Identités religieuses et culture grecque dans l'Antiquité tardive*, éd. Arnaud Perrot (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2012), 161–97; Henri-Dominique Saffrey, "Allusions anti-chrétiennes chez Proclus, le diadoque platonicien," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 59 (1975): 553–63. Both Saffrey and Hoffmann, however, detected only "allusions" to Christianity in Proklos's writings. I am most grateful to André Timotin for drawing my attention to these studies.

98 I. P. Sheldon-Williams, "*Henads* and Angels: Proclus and Ps.-Dionysius," *Studia Patristica* 11 (1972): 65–71; Henri D. Saffrey, "Le lien le plus objectif entre le Pseudo-Denys et Proclus," in *Roma, magistra mundi: Itineraria culturae medievalis* (=Mélanges L. E. Boyle), ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-neuve: Brepols, 1998), 791–810. On Iamblichos in the context of Dionysios's "Christian theurgy," see Stang, *Apophasis and Pseudonymity*, 105–13.

99 However, István Perczel identifies, in the *Mystical Theology*'s opening prayer to the Trinity, phraseology reminiscent of Proklos's prayer to the gods in *Platonic Theology* I. 1. See "Pseudo-Dionysius and the Platonic Theology," in *Proclus et la théologie platonicienne*, ed. Alain-Philippe Segonds and Carlos Steel (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 2000), 502–03.

100 On the Monastery of Qardu, see Florence Jullien, *Le monachisme en Perse: La réforme d'Abraham le Grand, père des moines de l'Orient*, CSCO 622, Subs. 121 (Louvain: Peeters, 2008), 218–19, 267.

101 The standard study on John of Dalyatha is still the magisterial monograph of Robert Beulay, *L'enseignement spirituel de Jean de Dalyatha, mystique syro-oriental du VIII*e *siècle*, Théologie historique 83 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1990). On the remarkable impact of Pseudo-Dionysios on Dalyatha, see, for example, *Homily* 6, Syriac and the French translation by Nadira Khayyat, *Jean de Dalyatha. Les Homélies I–XV*, Sources syriaques 2 (Antélias, Liban: Centre d'Études et de Recherches Orientales, 2007), 152–89.

102 See Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, "'Reduced to a State of Silence': Isaac of Nineveh and John of Dalyatha on Self-Transformation," in *Saint Isaac the Syrian and His Spiritual Legacy*, ed. Hilarion Alfeyev (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminar Press, forthcoming).

103 John of Dalyatha, *Letter* 34.2 (ed. Beulay, *Collection*, 144–46); trans. Mary Hansbury, *The Letters of John of Dalyatha*, Texts from Christian Late Antiquity 2 (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006), 142–43. Dalyatha is faithful to the tripartite levels of the body, soul, and spirit, which according to him encompass all rational creatures, whether spiritual or corporeal. *Letter* 20.4; trans. 106–7. See also *Letters* 23, 34, 40, 51 and *Homily* 2, ed. Khayyat, *Jean de Dalyatha*, 116–19.

2 Prayer and the body according to Isaac of Nineveh

Sabino Chialà

Isaac of Nineveh, also known as Isaac the Syrian, is one of the major figures of Mesopotamian Christian tradition.[1] Born during the seventh century in Bet Qatraye on the Persian Gulf, he was ordained bishop of Nineveh by the Catholicos Gewargis (660–680). After only a few months he abandoned his see and retired in the region of Bet Huzaye in the mountains of Khuzistan, where he lived in the Monastery of Rabban Shabur until his death. Manuscripts preserve different collections of *Discourses* under his name. In recent decades, besides clarifying important points of Isaac's biography, many studies have established the extent of his literary production. To the *First Collection* of the *Discourses*, translated already in antiquity into a dozen or so eastern and western languages,[2] it has been possible to add a *Second Collection,* rediscovered and published in part by Sebastian Brock,[3] and a *Third Collection*, edited by me.[4] In spite of this careful work, the search for and study of Isaac's literary heritage cannot yet be considered sufficient. Various Syriac and Arabic manuscripts attribute to him discourses that are not included in the three known collections. Among the writings that do not belong to any one of the three collections are two discourses presented unanimously by the manuscript tradition as "taken from the fifth part of Mar Isaac, bishop of Nineveh." I have recently published a critical edition of these texts, based on the entire manuscript tradition known to me.[5]

Prayer is one of the persistent themes in the writings of Isaac of Nineveh. He often returns to it in the course of his teachings and dedicates to it about a dozen discourses in all three known collections of his writings, which is unusual in view of the unsystematic character of his thought. In the *First Collection* the discourses on prayer are 21 (*On Silent Prayer*) and 22 (*On the Three Stages of Prayer*). In the *Second Collection* we have discourses 5 (*On Hidden Prayer*), 14 (*On Forms of Prayer*), 15 (*On Pure Prayer*), and 32 (*On the Movements That Occur during Prayer*). Finally, in the *Third Collection* the discourses are 3 (*On the Capacity to Bind One's Thoughts to God*), 4 (*On Authentic Prayer*), 8 (*On the Inhabitation of the Spirit That Prayer Obtains*), and 16 (*On Pure Prayer and Spiritual Prayer*). Of particular importance for the present topic is Discourse 22 of the *First Collection*, which is a systematic reflection on the process of prayer and its stages, that is, on prayer, pure prayer, and non-prayer.

In this study, after summarizing Isaac's teaching on the three stages of prayer, I intend to look more closely at the first level to determine the role of the body in that form of prayer, what value Isaac attributes to exterior, bodily practices in prayer, and how a person's material part participates in this activity.[6] As we shall see, prayer has its culmination in the human being's interior, where the encounter between the creature and God is celebrated, but bodily activity cannot be ignored in prayer's course of progress.

From prayer to non-prayer

In one of Isaac's definitions, he calls prayer an "emptying of the mind of every reality here below," while the "heart turns its gaze entirely towards the desire of future hope."[7] The image of emptying is especially appropriate to describe what he means by prayer: making space for something that comes from without by following a progressive movement of which Isaac illustrates three stages.[8]

The first step is what he indicates as "prayer" (ܨܠܘܬܐ), without further specification. This encompasses all the elementary forms of what is usually indicated by prayer and is characterized by effort, constraint, desire, and fear. In this first expression of the experience of prayer Isaac includes "all the forms of prayer,"[9] chiefly that of petition, whatever object may be desired. Here the activity of the person praying is fundamental; this stage is characterized by the ascetic aspects of prayer, as we shall see further on.

The second stage is what Isaac calls "pure prayer" (ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܟܝܟܐ), where the adjective "pure" has no moral connotation with regard to sin. The expression recurs particularly in Isaac's texts, as in those of many other Syriac authors.[10] Purity indicates a higher level, where there is still human activity, but the person is moved by a purified desire such that "no other thought and no distraction" may disturb it, to the point that he, free of all dissipation, asks only for what is good.[11] Here is a definition that we find in Discourse 16 of the *Third Collection*:

> Pure prayer is that which, by reflecting on good realities and in recollection of the next world, rises above the dissipation of thought and earthly reflection. It asks for what is delightful and is free from the disturbance caused by transitory realities.[12]

Further on he adds that this is still a prayer "in which there is toil," which is "under the power of the will," and in which "the soul prays together with the body and the mind."[13] What renders it pure is the direction of the petition towards an end "according to God" and a certain joy that the person praying feels at the same moment that he implores.

Beyond pure prayer is the culmination of prayer, its highest form, in which the person has no active part, for which reason Isaac prefers to call it "non-prayer" (ܨܠܘܬܐ ܠܐ). This is an experience in which the only actor is the Spirit, which prays in the person's intellect (ܪܥܝܢ) while the latter is totally passive, "reduced to silence in amazement."[14] To underline the total exclusion of the will and of human activity

from this third stage of prayer, Isaac goes so far in Discourse 22 of the *First Collection* as to object to the traditional term "spiritual prayer" (ܨܠܘܬܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ), which, nevertheless, he uses in other contexts.[15] He polemicizes against the Messalians, who claim to be able to pray a "spiritual prayer" as if they themselves made it.[16] Instead, he holds that at this stage of prayer the human being no longer participates actively but is reduced simply to a place in which it is the Spirit itself who prays. He states:

> It is blasphemy for a creature to say absolutely that it prays a spiritual prayer. Everything that is prayed is on this side of spirituality; the order of what is spiritual is external to movement and to prayer.[17]

Isaac, hence, proposes to call this third stage non-prayer. A passage of his Discourse 22 renders Isaac's thought clearly, as he describes the passage from pure prayer to non-prayer.

> There is a time when the phrases [of prayer] are sweet in the mouth, and one repeats unceasingly a single phrase of the prayer, not knowing how to stop and to pass to other satiety. And there is a time when out of the prayer is born a kind of contemplation that interrupts even the prayer of the lips, and the one who tastes this becomes like a corpse without soul, because of his amazement. This is what we call vision during prayer, and not a semblance or figured form, as the stupid say. And even in this contemplation in prayer there are degrees and varieties of gifts. Up to this point, however, it is still prayer; in fact, thought has not yet gone beyond to what will be non-prayer, which is more excellent, because the movements of the tongue and of the heart in prayer are the keys, while what follows is the entrance into the treasure house. . . .
>
> From the purity of its prayer and within it, when this limit is passed, though no longer has prayer or movements or tears or power or liberty or petitions or desire or longing for anything whatever that can be expected from this world or the next. So after pure prayer there is no longer prayer, but all the movements and forms of thought, with the power of their liberty, had it up to this point. For this reason there is also struggle. Beyond this limit, then, there is amazement and not prayer. From here on prayer ceases and there is vision, while thought, although praying, does not pray.[18]

Non-prayer comes to interrupt prayer, allowing the person simply to enjoy the Spirit's gift. The person's only response is amazement and wonder.

> At times it happens that a person kneels during prayer, his arms are outspread or raised to heaven, his face is turned to the cross, and, so to say, his every movement and his mind are turned to God in supplication. And while man supplicates and sighs in this fashion, in that time, thanks to the quiet, a fount

> of sweetness moves in his heart: his limbs relax, his eyes close, his face is chaste, and his thoughts are transformed, to the point that not even his knees can rest on the ground, on account of the exultation of that good that diffuses throughout his entire body.[19]

Prayer as toil

After having briefly examined the entire program of prayer we now return to the beginning, where prayer is first of all a human activity. In fact, if there is non-prayer at the culmination – a pure gift of the Spirit granted to a quiet and entirely inactive intellect – this must necessarily be prepared by what Isaac places in the first stage, where, instead, human activity is fundamental and is often presented with the features of "toil" (ܥܡܠܐ), toil that prepares the intellect to receive the Spirit's pure gift.

The toil that Isaac talks about pertains to the body, which therefore has a very important role in the practice of prayer. He asserts: "Every prayer in which the body does not toil and the heart does not suffer is to be considered a miscarriage without soul."[20] He also writes: "Before falling asleep exercise your body in your rule and in many prayers."[21] This toilsome and demanding aspect of prayer is described also with an image familiar to the people of the Persian Gulf: pearl-diving.

> For those who dive into the sea of stillness act as teachers those who alight on the riches of the sea, [descending to] the heart of the earth. Let us consider as oysters the prayers upon which the intellect alights, the contemplative insights, divine knowledge, wisdom, joy in spirit.
>
> In the case of divers, they will very often go down and find oysters consisting of just ordinary flesh; only once in a while will there be a pearl in it. Their experience is also ours in the commerce which consists in prayer: barely a single one occurs through us wherein there is consolation for our weariness.[22]

Prayer in its first stage is thus presented as a form of asceticism in which perseverance and physical participation are of fundamental importance. To take up the image of pearl-diving, it is important to continue to descend into the abyss of the sea in the hope of finding the consolation of the gift of prayer.

In all of this the body is called upon to do its part. It is to be used in a series of activities in which it is the principal, although not the only, protagonist. Concretely, Isaac indicates various bodily activities that can perform this function, among them chiefly the recitation of the set prayers and psalmody and the various gestures of prayer traditional in the East Syriac Church. To these could be added other forms of asceticism, such as fasting and vigils,[23] which in Isaac's view likewise have a function directed towards prayer. Tears, which in Isaac's thought receive great importance, also can be considered a bodily participation in the prayer.[24] Here I will limit myself to the first two elements.

The set prayer and psalmody

The first instance of the bodily exercise of prayer is the recitation of the set prayers and psalmody. I call these practices "bodily" because, although they require as well active participation by the mind and the heart, they have a physical, corporal component. This exercise consists of the material recitation of the East Syriac monastic ordo and requires praying the seven canonical offices.[25] Neglecting the recitation of the psalms, under the pretext of practicing a "spiritual prayer," is the illusion of the Messalians, whom Isaac resolutely condemns.[26] Even when, while praying, the psalms appear tedious and repetitive, Isaac urges one to continue in it.

> Do not be slack because of the length of the rule of prayer and the duration of our prayers and the many repetitions that they contain. . . . We should only beware of considering them as the fruit rather than as the root. However, without them the fruit itself would not be visible and would fall from our hands.[27]

However he does not insist on formal observance as an end in itself. Elsewhere, indeed, he cautions:

> Recite the psalms tranquilly, having prayer alone as the end, without being worried about the quantity, but that you may be given the key, if only of a single verse, so that you may enter the spiritual treasure-house that opened by the grace of the Holy Spirit.[28]

Nevertheless, it is in that exercise of repetition that the expected fruits of prayer may occur. This is because psalmody, together with the reading of Scripture, produces the "purification of the mind from wandering," so that it may move limpidly in prayer, which is "conversation with God."[29] The exact recitation of the psalms and the observance of the prayer rubric, therefore, is a first expression of that "bodily prayer" that prepares the human being for the gift of true prayer from the Spirit.

The gestures of prayer

More pointedly corporal are a series of gestures that Isaac prescribes to be practiced during prayer. Here the physical element is even more evident than in psalmody, since he describes bodily movements that could be reduced to pure gesture without anything corresponding interiorly. Isaac returns to this aspect in various passages of his writings. In Discourse 24 of the *Second Collection* he defines these gestures as "venerable external forms" of prayer and lists them: "lifting one's hands to heaven, standing modestly, falling with one's face to the ground." He then adds:

> Anyone who continuously adorns his prayer with such external postures will swiftly and quickly be accounted worthy of the activity of the Holy Spirit. . . .

> You should realize, my brethren, that in all our service God very much wants outward posture, specific kinds of honour, and visible forms of prayer, not for his own sake, but for our benefit. He himself is not profited by such things, nor does he lose anything when they are neglected: rather, they are for the sake of our feeble nature. Had such things not been requisite, he himself would not have adopted such outward posture for himself during his incarnation, thus speaking with us in the holy Scripture.[30]

Once again Isaac states that the fruit is not found in the practices. Nevertheless, they render possible the action of the Spirit in the person who carries them out. Isaac finds confirmation of this in Jesus' carrying out such practices during his earthly life. It is not God who needs visible signs of worship; rather, they are necessary because of the weakness of human beings. Prayer cannot be reduced only to the activity of the heart, to its interior component; this would be an illusion. As Isaac continues ironically in the same discourse:

> Many people have despised these [outward postures] in their thoughts and supposed that prayer of the heart (ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܒܠܒܐ) suffices by itself for God, claiming, as they lie on their backs or are sitting in a disrespectful manner, that there should only be an interior recollection [of God]; they are not concerned at all with adorning the visible side of their worship with prolonged standing, corresponding to their body's strength, or with making the venerable sign of the cross over their organs of the senses. Nor are they concerned, as they kneel on the ground, to act like those about to draw near to a flame, and to take upon themselves, both inwardly and outwardly, a reverential posture.[31]

Isaac here reproves despising the body's participation in prayer in the name of a supposedly incorporeal or spiritual prayer. This is another sign of deviation that he observes in those he summarily calls Messalians.[32] He does not intend to reduce the expression of the Christian faith to mere external practice. He holds, however, that the interior human, in order to prepare to receive the gift of the highest prayer, has need of the collaboration of the exterior human, who participates in this preparatory action through a series of gestures that Isaac repeats over and over: standing, stretching out one's hands towards heaven, falling with one's face to the ground, prostrating before the cross.

Isaac places particular importance on those movements of the body that we call "prostrations" (the *metanoiai* of the Byzantine tradition), especially before the cross (ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܦܓܪ or ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܣܓܕ). "Do not compare lying prostrated on your face night and day before the cross with anything else you do. Do you want your fervor never to lose its vigor and never to be deprived of tears? Exercise yourself in this."[33] Isaac considers this kind of bodily movement to be so important in the exercise of prayer that on certain occasions it can even supplant the recitation of psalms and set prayers.[34] In addition, prostrations are so highly regarded by Isaac because they can come to a person's aid in a particular moment of his spiritual experience, that of darkness.

The importance of prostrations and of the body in a period of darkness

Among the various forms of prayer, and of the body's prayer in particular, Isaac considered prostrations as especially useful in a time of aridity or darkness. When the interior human is incapable of expressing the movements of prayer and seems to be totally the prey of *akedia*, such movements can have a beneficial effect on the heart, to the point of awakening it out of its torpor.

Isaac dedicates the entire Discourse 49 of his *First Collection* to this subject, which unfortunately is little known because it was not included in the West Syriac manuscript collection nor in the Greek version.[35] I give here the opening passage:

> In a time of darkness prostrations (ܫܓܕ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ) more than any other thing come to one's aid. For the rest, your inability to carry this out and to persevere in it is a sign that Satan is waging war against you. It is well to combat this! Satan, in fact, knows the help that comes from prostrating oneself and for this reason tries with all his might to prevent you from offering it, and when you throw yourself on your face he instills turmoil in you, and even if you succeed in overcoming him and to prostrate yourself, he presses you not to continue.
>
> Even if our movements are cold and darkened, we should continue with our prostrations. Even if our heart in these moments is dead and we are not able to recite even one prayer, not knowing what to say, because not even a single verse of invocation or supplication comes to our mind, in this situation let us be continually prostrated on our face, though in silence.[36]

The interest of this text lies first of all in the positive function that the body can have in a situation that Isaac calls darkness. When "the heart is dead," the person still has a body. The interior man has no movements or words or desires, but then his body through "mechanical" movements can reanimate the heart and awaken it from its torpor. At the end of the brief Discourse 49, Isaac links the practice of prostrations to another form of bodily asceticism: keeping to one's cell.

> During a period of dense darkness that weighs upon the soul we must be on the watch against despair. Listen to me, my brother: struggle not to leave your cell, like a woman who is about to give birth and struggles against her pain or like a man undergoing torture. In fact, the enemy prevails more easily in urging you to leave your cell than in other things by relying on your impatience at the moment of your struggle. And while he is inciting you with all his might to make you go out, so that you do not remain there, make prostrations. He fears this practice more than any other.[37]

When prostrations prove too difficult because of the great obscurity that envelops the interior human, Isaac suggests another form of struggle, still with the body as protagonist: no longer a movement, but remaining within a space.

***

From this teaching we may draw some conclusions about Isaac's anthropological vision. If prostrations or standing immobile in a certain space can give life to a darkened heart, it follows that the body renders a service to the heart, hence the material part of the human being can exercise a positive influence on the spiritual. Prayer in its highest form remains non-prayer, the Spirit's pure gift, made manifest in man's interior. To make this possible, however, a predisposition is necessary, in which the body plays a very important function. The corporal forms of prayer, therefore, are absolutely necessary in this preparation. In this view there is another no less important aspect: contrary to a certain dualistic vision that sees in the body a burden for the soul's interior life, in a time of darkness the body can play a positive role on behalf of the soul and even awaken it out of its torpor. This idea is not only Isaac's, and the study of its ties with earlier writers, also Greek, would be interesting. I limit myself to citing a passage very close to Isaac's of a contemporary of his, John Klimax (d. 659–679).

> Those who have reached true prayer of the heart can find help in the efforts of prayer by the body, I mean raising one's hands, beating one's breast, lifting a pure gaze to heaven, emitting loud sighs, and continuously falling on one's knees.[38]

Notes

1 For a general introduction, see Sabino Chialà, *Dall'ascesi eremitica alla misericordia infinita. Ricerche su Isacco di Ninive e la sua fortuna* (Florence: Olschki, 2002); Sebastian Brock, "Isaac of Nineveh," in *The Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2011), 213–14; Sebastain Brock, "From Qatar to Tokyo, by Way of Mar Saba: The Translations of Isaac of Beth Qatraye," *ARAM* 11–12 (1999–2000): 275–84.

2 Syriac text of the *Discourses: First Collection*: Paul Bedjan, ed., *Mar Isaacus Ninivita: De perfectione religiosa* (Paris: Harrassowitz, 1909). English translations: Arent Jan Wensinck, ed., *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1923); Holy Transfiguration Monastery, ed., *The Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian* (Boston: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1984; revised second edition 2011).

3 Syriac text with English translation of second half (only chapters 4–41) of the *Discourses: Second Collection*: Sebastian Brock, ed., *Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian): "The Second Part," Chapters IV–XLI*, CSCO 554–555, Script. Syr. 224–225 (Louvain: Peeters, 1995). The first part of this collection, including the four *Centuries*, remains unedited. For a French translation of the entire *Second Collection*, see André Louf, ed., *Isaac le Syrien, Oeuvres spirituelles – II. 41 Discours récemment découverts*, Spiritualité Orientale 81 (Bellefontaine: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 2003).

4 Syriac text with Italian translation of the *Discourses: Third Collection*, see Sabino Chialà, ed., *Isacco di Ninive: Terza collezione*, CSCO 637–638, Script. Syr. 246–247 (Louvain: Peeters 2011).

5 Syriac text with Italian translation of the two known discourses of the fifth part: Sabino Chialà, "Due discorsi ritrovati della Quinta parte di Isacco di Ninive?" *OCP* 79 (2013): 61–112.

6 See Hannah Hunt, "'Praying the Body': Isaac of Nineveh and John of Apamea on Anthropological Integrity," *The Harp* 11–12 (1998–1999): 153–59; and more recently

the comprehensive study: Hannah Hunt, *Clothed in the Body: Asceticism, the Body and the Spiritual in the Late Antiquity Era* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

7 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 74 (ed. Bedjan, 508).

8 For a more detailed treatment of Isaac's thoughts on prayer in its three stages, see Irénée Hausherr, "Par delà l'oraison pure, grâce à une coquille. A propos d'un texte d'Évagre," *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 13 (1932): 184–88 (also in *Hésychasme et Prière* [Orientalia Christiana Analecta 176; Roma 1966], 8–12); Élie Khalifé-Hachem, "La prière pure et la prière spirituelle selon Isaac de Ninive," in *Mémorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis (1898–1968)*, ed. by François Graffin (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1969), 157–73; Paolo Bettiolo, "'Prigionieri dello Spirito': Libertà creaturale ed eschaton in Isacco di Ninive e nelle sue fonti," *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 4 (1999): 343–63. For a synthesis, see Chialà, *Dall'ascesi eremitica alla misericordia infinita*, 223–36. See also Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, "Pure Prayer and Ignorance: Dadisho' Qatraya and the Greek Ascetic Legacy," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 78 (2012): 200–26.

9 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 22 (ed. Bedjan, 165). For an English translation of Discourse 22, see Sebastian P. Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, CS 101 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian, 1987), 252–63.

10 Cf. Chialà, *Isacco di Ninive: Terza collezione*, CSCO 638, 154–55, n. 2.

11 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 22 (ed. Bedjan, 165).

12 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Third Collection* 16.2 (ed. Chialà, 112).

13 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Third Collection* 16.4 (ed. Chialà, 112).

14 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Third Collection* 8.9 (ed. Chialà, 58).

15 See Chialà, *Isacco di Ninive: Terza collezione*, CSCO 638, 154–55, with the footnote comments.

16 On the very complex question of the exact identity and consistency of Messalians, see now in particular Columba Stewart, *"Working the Earth of the Heart": The Messalian Controversy in History: Texts, and Language to AD 431* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Patrik Hagman, "St. Isaac of Nineveh and the Messalians," in *Mystik–Metapher–Bild: Beiträge des VII. Makarios-Symposiums, Göttingen 2007*, ed. Martin Tamcke (Göttingen: Universitätsverlage, 2008), 55–66; Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, "'Neither Beginning nor End': The Messalian Imaginaire and Syriac Asceticism," *Adamantius* 19 (2013): 222–39.

17 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 22 (ed. Bedjan, 168).

18 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 22 (ed. Bedjan, 164–66).

19 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 4 (ed. Bedjan, 58).

20 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 18 (ed. Bedjan, 144).

21 Isaac of Nineveh, *Centuries* II.80. (The four *Centuries* are included in the discourses of the *Second Collection* as the third chapter. Their text is still unpublished; I quote from the manuscript Teheran, Issayi 4.)

22 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 34.5–6 (ed. Brock, 137).

23 On this topic see in particular Patrik Hagman, *The Asceticism of Isaac of Nineveh* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

24 David A. Lichter, "Tears and Contemplation in Isaac of Nineveh," *Diakonia* 11 (1976): 239–58; Paul T. Mascia, "The Gift of the Tears in Isaac of Nineveh," *Diakonia* 14 (1979): 255–65.

25 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 1.33, 14.35 (ed. Brock, 67); *Centuries* III.86; IV.14.

26 Isaac of Nineveh, *Centuries* IV.31.

27 Isaac of Nineveh, *Centuries* IV.70.

28 Isaac of Nineveh, *Centuries* II.55.

29 Isaac of Nineveh, *Centuries* I.63.

30 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 14.12–13 (ed. Brock, 59).

31 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 14.14 (ed. Brock, 59–60).
32 Cf. Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 14.22 (ed. Brock, 63).
33 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 4 (ed. Bedjan, 58).
34 Cf. Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: Second Collection* 4.4 (ed. Brock, 2).
35 A critical edition of the Greek version is in: Marcel Pirar, ed., *Ἀββᾶ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ Σύρου, Λόγοι ἀσκητικοί: Κριτικὴ ἔκδοσι* (Aghion Oros: Iera Moni Iviron, 2012). For a preliminary study of this topic, with particular reference to Discourse 49, see Sabino Chialà, "L'importance du corps dans la prière, selon l'enseignement d'Isaac de Ninive," *Connaissance des Pères de l'Église* 119 (2010): 30–39. On the importance of prostrations in moments of aridity and darkness, see also Isaac of Nineveh, *Centuries* I.30; *Discourses: Second Collection* 9.5 (ed. Brock, 28); *Discourses: Third Collection* 9.16 (ed. Chialà, 65–66).
36 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 49 (ed. Bedjan, 341).
37 Isaac of Nineveh, *Discourses: First Collection* 49 (ed. Bedjan, 342–43).
38 John Klimax, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* 15.75 (PG 88:900C).

3 Psalms and prayer in Syriac monasticism

Clues from Psalter prefaces and their Greek sources

Columba Stewart

Despite its central importance in their daily lives, early Christian ascetics tell us surprisingly little, even indirectly, of their experience of praying the psalms. To learn what the Psalter meant to them, either cognitively or experientially, we rely on a handful of texts, notably Athanasios's *Letter to Markellinos*, the *Scholia on the Psalms* of Evagrios of Pontos, and John Cassian's *Conferences Ten* and *Fourteen*. Might there be other ways to understand the absorption of ascetics in the psalms and their efforts to understand more fully these texts that shaped them so profoundly? This chapter is an attempt to do so by indirection, following hints left in one trail of texts, translations, and manuscripts. The primary focus will be Syriac appropriation of Greek introductions to the Psalms, with brief side looks at the Latin world.

The idea for this exploration emerged from research on the reception of the writings of Evagrios of Pontos in the Syriac and Latin traditions. I was looking for traces of Origen's works in Syriac, which quickly led me to a manuscript of the Syro-Hexapla version of the psalms in the British Library, Add. MS 14434 (8th c.). It features a fairly substantial passage entitled "From Origen's Discourse [šarbā] on the Psalms." The same text is found in several other Syriac manuscripts. In every case it occurs within a bricolage of excerpts from commentaries and homilies on the psalms used as a preface to the text of the Psalter. This chapter explores the Greek source, the Syriac versions, and the possible context for the translation of that bricolage.

The Greek source for the Psalter preface

There is a long history of prefacing manuscripts of the Psalms with introductory material.[1] Perhaps most famously, the Greek Codex Alexandrinus (5th c.) prefaces its Psalter with the whole of Athanasios's *Letter to Markellinos*, the Eusebian *Hypotheseis* (notes on the ascriptions of the various psalms and on the nonsequential presentation of history in them, as illustrated by those referring to David), and Eusebios's *Periochai* (one-line summaries of each psalm). Athanasios's *Letter to Markellinos* continued to be a particular favorite in the Greek tradition.[2]

The particular array of patristic extracts found in the Syriac manuscripts to be described here can be traced back to the Greek catena on the Psalms, as best

witnessed by Oxford, Bodleian MS Barocci 235, a manuscript of the ninth century; Athos, Iberon 597 (10th c.); and partially by Vatican Gr. 1789 (10th/11th c.).[3] Although the Syriac manuscripts are at least a century older than these Greek witnesses, Gilles Dorival has argued that the Bodleian manuscript is a copy of the first section of the original Palestinian catena on the Psalms, usually associated in some manner with Prokopios of Gaza (ca. 465–528 CE).[4] Its composite preface presents texts by the principal authors featured in the catena: Basil, Eusebios, Origen, Epiphanios, Didymos, and Theodoret. The selection demonstrates care and thematic development, moving from a general discussion of what a psalm is, to how the Psalter relates to other biblical books, and then to details of numbering, arrangement, nomenclature, and symbolic meaning.

Subsequent Greek catenae on the Psalms – of which Karo and Lietzmann in 1902 had already identified 27 types, a number expanded by subsequent manuscript discoveries and further analysis – have different collections of prefatory texts, or none at all. Fortunately, only the primordial Palestinian catena is relevant for study of the Syriac collection of extracts. This lessens, if not entirely eliminates, the perils noted by Giovanni Mercati, who introduced his own extraordinary study of Psalter prefaces with the warning, "In short, one is on unstable and treacherous ground, on which it is easy to slip and to sink, and in which much remains unknown."[5]

The Syriac witnesses to the Psalter preface

At some point the preface to the Palestinian catena on the Psalms – but not the catena itself – was translated into Syriac. Since the catena consisted of commentary tied to the Greek text of the Septuagint, it was not translated. The preface, however, with its more general content, could serve just as well in Syriac and is found in these manuscripts:

1 Milan, Ambrosianus C313 Inf. (8/9th c.), ff. 1r–6r. The codex contains Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Sirach, Wisdom, and the Prophetic books of the Syro-Hexapla version of the Old Testament, written in Estrangela script.[6] A companion manuscript containing part of the Pentateuch and the Historical Books was used by the sixteenth-century scholar Andreas Masius for his pioneering study of the Syro-Hexapla but is now lost. The Milan manuscript is missing its opening folio. It has no colophon.
2 London, BL Add. 14434 (7th/8th c.). This is actually two manuscripts of the Syro-Hexapla Psalter written in Estrangela script bound together in the nineteenth century, each with a fragmentary copy of the preface (ff. 1r–7v and 80 rv).[7] The first has no surviving colophon; the second (f. 128v) identifies the scribe (Simeon of Amid) but gives no date or place of writing.
3 St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Siriyskaya novaya seria 19 (? 8th–9th c.).[8] The Peshitta (common) version of the Psalms, along with other texts, written in a Melkite script.[9] The preface is largely incomplete, preserving only the opening lines of its first text (Hippolytus, f. 5v, ll. 10–14), with subsequent folios now missing. There is no colophon extant.

4 Baghdad, Chaldean Patr. 211 (1126 CE).[10] The Peshitta version of the Psalms with interlinear Syro-Hexaplic readings, commentaries from various authors following each psalm, biblical canticles, and various other texts, written in a variety of scripts. The preface is largely complete, though missing at least the first leaf as in the Milan manuscript; both resume at approximately the same point in the opening text (Hippolytus). The colophon by the scribe Kesrwan of Edessa is dated November 2 "of the year 1438 of Alexander" (i.e. 1126 CE), and specifies that it was written in the city of Maragha in Ajerbaijan (south of Tabriz, now in eastern Iran). A carefully written nineteenth-century copy of the manuscript is in the Vatican Library (Borgia siriaca 113).[11]

5 Baghdad, Chaldean Patr. 1113 (12th c.). Formerly in the Chaldean Cathedral of Diyarbakir (as MS 36), the manuscript contains the Peshitta version of the Syriac Psalter, biblical canticles, and liturgical texts written in East Syriac script.[12] This is the only intact copy of the extracts (ff. 3r–10v).[13] There does not appear to be a colophon.

6 Rome, Vatican Syr. 135, ff. 2–5 (? 8th/9th c.). This collection of fragments from several manuscripts contains a unique, though incomplete, version of the extracts on the Psalms (ff. 2r–5v) and, in the same hand, a large part of Athanasios's *Letter to Markellinos* (ff. 7–12), written in an early Serto script.[14]

The relationships among these manuscripts are complex. The Milan and London manuscripts (numbers 1 and 2 above) are obviously similar in their use of the extracts to introduce the Syro-Hexapla Psalter. This was an early seventh-century attempt to provide a Syriac Bible translated directly from the Septuagint, working from Origen's Hexapla and noting the variants found in the more literal Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.[15] The principal author was Paul of Tella, who, along with other exiled West Syrian Miaphysites, found refuge at the monastery of the Enaton in Egypt, where they undertook this massive project. The result was a monument of biblical scholarship, with textual variants abundantly noted in the margin along with Greek words, explanatory notes, and the occasional quotation of a patristic commentator. From this textual tradition the thirteenth-century polymath Gregory Bar 'Ebroyo created a précis of the Psalter preface, using it to introduce the scholia on the Psalms in his *Storehouse of Mysteries* [*Awṣar Rāzē*]. His summary, with attributions and excerpts from the excerpts, offers a valuable confirmation of the shape of the prefatory material as it circulated with the Syro-Hexapla Psalter.[16] In their present state, the prefaces to the Psalter in both the Milan and London manuscripts are incomplete. The former is missing its opening folio; the latter is much more damaged.[17]

These two manuscripts were written in Mesopotamia and later taken to Egypt. The second part of BL Add. 14434 (Wright, no. LV) has a note that it was copied by a Simeon from Amid (Diyarbakir); we lack comparable details about its companion (no. LIV) or about the Milan manuscript.[18] Both parts were brought to the Monastery of the Syrians (Deir al-Surian) located in the Egyptian desert of Wadi

Natrun, ancient Sketis, sometime after the establishment of the Syriac-speaking community there in the ninth century.[19] These manuscripts, with hundreds of others from Syria and Mesopotamia, were part of the most important library of early Syriac manuscripts to survive into the modern period.[20] The bulk of the collection was taken to Europe between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The Milan manuscript left Egypt in 1613; the London manuscript left in 1838, as one of 300 codices purchased by Henry Tattam for the British Museum.

The St. Petersburg manuscript (number 3 above), though it preserves a mere fragment of the Psalter preface, should be associated with the two manuscripts from Baghdad because it contains the Peshitta ("simple" or common) version of the Psalter. It is considerably older than both of them and therefore represents an important phase in the chain of transmission of the preface, particularly as used with the Peshitta Psalter. Unfortunately, its damaged condition – it has only a few lines of the opening text – makes it impossible to draw any conclusions. It does, however, seem to confirm that the Peshitta manuscripts did not include the opening extract probably attributed to Athanasios in the Syro-Hexapla manuscripts but surviving now only in a fragmentary manner (see the discussion below).

The first Baghdad manuscript (number 4 above; Chaldean Patr. 211 and its copy, Borgia sir. 113) is the only dated manuscript among those used in this study.[21] The Psalter text is that of the Peshitta (common) version, but with an interlinear Syro-Hexaplar text provided wherever that deviates from the Peshitta. The scribe is a promoter of the Syro-Hexapla ("the version of the Seventy"), which he urges his readers to use for both scholarly and aesthetic reasons. He explains that the Peshitta version is written in "thick" script (it is in Estrangela in the manuscript) and the "Seventy" is written underneath (it is in East Syriac script), and offers instruction in interpreting the sigla.[22] Extracts from various commentators, mostly translations from Greek writers but also including the sixth-century Syriac Orthodox author Daniel of Ṣalaḥ, follow each psalm, written in Serto script.[23] The scribe's reference to the Virgin Mary as the "Mother of God" in some of the liturgical materials following the Psalter and the use of Daniel of Ṣalaḥ suggest a Syriac Orthodox context. As for the other Baghdad manuscript below, the extracts used in the Psalter preface follow the version found in the Milan manuscript very closely, even to the point of including the same marginal corrections. The only significant variation from it is the omission of the "Explanation of Hebrew Words," duly noted in the text (see below for a possible explanation for its excision). This suggests that the exemplar for both Baghdad manuscripts was the Milan manuscript or a very good copy of it made sometime before it was taken to Egypt.

The Baghdad (*olim* Diyarbakir) manuscript (number 5 above; Chaldean Patr. 1113) is roughly contemporary to the previous one. Following the prefatory extracts, it contains the Peshitta version of the Psalms, with some notes indicating variations from the Hebrew and Greek, and psalm headings by Eusebios, Athanasios, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The script and the inclusion of the headings of Theodore point to an East Syriac, Diophysite, milieu. Like the preceding manuscript, the Psalter preface in this manuscript adheres closely to that found in the Milan manuscript, though with the same omission of the "Explanation of Hebrew

Words," here noted in the margin rather than in the text. The fact that this is also the only complete example of the Syriac Psalter preface – every other manuscript is missing at least one folio – makes it an important witness, despite its different context (it is the only one from an East Syriac environment).[24]

The Vatican manuscript (number 6 above) is the outlier in almost every respect. It is the only one that does not contain the Psalter. It consists of several fragments, three of which are related to interpretation of the Psalms. Two folios, now separated from each other, contain a correspondence between monks in western Syria about translating the writings of Athanasios on the Psalms (ff. 1 and 6). Between these two leaves, but written in a different hand, is a collection of passages on the Psalter (ff. 2–5) clearly related to the prefaces in the other manuscripts but with several distinctive features. Finally, in the same hand as the extracts, but distinct from them, is a long section of Athanasios's *Letter to Markellinos* (ff. 7–12). This is more extensive than any other known copy in Syriac. (A shorter section of the *Letter*, in the same translation, is found in the other Syriac Psalter prefaces.) All three fragments are incomplete: the correspondence is missing its conclusion, and both the excerpts and the translation of Athanasios's *Letter* lack folios at beginning and end. This manuscript also came from Deir al-Surian and was taken to the Vatican in 1715 by J. S. Assemani. Its distinctive features will be discussed in more detail below.

To summarize: in the Syriac tradition this collection of excerpts from commentaries on the Psalms was used in three distinct ways. First, it served as a preface to the Syro-Hexapla Psalter. Second, it served as a preface to the Peshitta Psalter. Third, it existed as an independent collection of writings about the Psalms. This tangled trail raises many questions, beginning with what distinguishes the Syriac versions from the Greek source, and then the Syriac witnesses from each other (and especially from the Vatican manuscript). Answers to these may help address the most difficult but most important question, when and why were these texts translated into Syriac? Then there are issues unrelated to the particular manuscripts but relevant to this inquiry, which began with Origen. Here the Latin tradition will help in tracing the influence of Origen on early Christian interpretation of the Psalms. And finally there is Athanasios's *Letter to Markellinos*, which will bring us closer to the ascetic experience of the Psalms.

Differences between the preface to the Greek catena on the Psalms and the Syriac collections

Although the Syriac collection is undeniably based on the Greek prototype in the catena preface, there are notable differences between the prototype and each kind of Syriac witness. Most important are the additional texts found in the Syriac collection (see Table 3.1). Two are at the beginning. The first is witnessed by the fragmentary opening folios of the London manuscript, which contain a pastiche of texts by Eusebios and Origen. Both title and attribution are missing. The evidence from Bar 'Ebroyo suggests that it was probably presented as a single text attributed to Athanasios.[25] Such assimilation of earlier biblical interpretations

Table 3.1 Greek and Syriac collections of excerpts on the Psalms

Greek catena preface ***Oxf. Barocci 235* (9C)** ***Athos Iberon 597* (10C)** ***Vat. gr. 1789* (10/11CC)**	*Independent form* ***Vat. syr. 135* (8/9CC)**	*Peshitta preface* **[*St. Petersburg. Sir. N.S.19* (8/ 9CC)]** ***Baghdad 1113* (12C)** ***Baghdad 211* (1126)**	*Syro-Hex. preface* ***Ambros. C313 Inf.* (8/9CC)** ***BL Add 14434* (7/8CC)**	*Bar 'Ebroyo scholia* **(13C)**
			Athanasios	Athanasios
		Hippolytos	Hippolytos	Hippolytos
	[Cyril of Alexandria]			
Basil 1	Basil 1+2 [diff. trans.]	Basil 1+2	Basil 1+2	Basil
	Eusebios	Eusebios: *Periochai**	Eusebios: *Periochai*	
Eusebios	Eusebios: *Periochai*	Eusebios	Eusebios	
	[appears separately]	Athanasios: *Ep. Marc.*	Athanasios: *Ep. Marc.*	
		[omission noted in these MSS]	Expl. of Hebrew Words	
	Didymos			
Origen 1	Origen 1	Origen 1	Origen 1	Origen
Basil 2	[see above]	[see above]	[see above]	
Origen 2				
Epiphanios	as "Athanasios" [diff. trans.](3746)	Epiphanios	Epiphanios	Epiphanios
	"Athanasios" 2*			
Didymos	[see above]			
Theodoret				

* = first text in Syro-Hexapla preface

*In *Baghdad 1113* these are integrated into the Psalter

under the name of a later writer is common in patristic exegesis, whether done by the attributed author or by a subsequent editor using the cachet of the attributed author. Athanasios was always a good brand. In this pastiche the topics are miscellaneous: the nonchronological nature of the Psalter (e.g. psalms referring to events in David's life are not in the correct historical sequence), Hebrew meter (this from Origen), and the various headings of the psalms. The missing first folio of the Milan manuscript may have contained the same text.[26]

The second addition is nearly unanimous in the Syriac tradition (only the Vatican manuscript lacks it): a translation of portions of a homily on the Psalms – the oldest such homily extant – attributed to the third-century Roman presbyter-bishop Hippolytus under the title, "Discourse of Explanation [*šarbā d-taš'īthā*] on the Psalms."[27] The Syriac translator – or a previous editor of the Greek homily – has selected themes about authorship and literary genre. These two additions by "Athanasios" and Hippolytos help to compensate for the loss of other commentary owing to the detachment of the preface from the catena.

At this point the Syriac prefaces pick up the Greek series, beginning with Basil of Caesarea. An excerpt from his *Homily on Psalm 1* speaks of the Psalter as a practical presentation of doctrine set to music; another section, with its own title, is about the stringed instrument used to accompany the singing of psalms.[28] After Basil comes Eusebios, but here the Syriac has an additional Eusebian text, inserted before the one in the catena preface: the *Periochai*, capsule summaries of each psalm, as found in the Codex Alexandrinus. In the Syro-Hexapla manuscripts (London and Milan) and in Chaldean Patr. 211, these are simply listed in numerical sequence. In Chaldean Patr. 1113, they are moved within the Psalter itself, where Eusebios's summaries become headings placed before each psalm, complementing those by Athanasios, Theodore of Mopsuestia, sometimes those from the Syro-Hexapla, and the Hebrew headings as well. In the Vatican manuscript of the preface, the incipits for each psalm are given (in the Peshitta version), followed by the relevant text from the *Periochai*. The second Eusebian passage, common to both the Greek and the Syriac, explains the Psalms as a new mode of sacrifice that is superior to those prescribed by the Law of Moses and offers hymns to God.

The most significant difference between the Greek and Syriac versions comes next, with the insertion of a substantial section of Athanasios's *Letter to Markellinos* (chs. 14–27). This is found in most of the Syriac manuscripts. The passage is twice as long as its closest competitor in the preface, the text by Origen. As noted earlier, the *Letter* is often found in Greek manuscripts of the Psalter as a general introduction. The portion chosen for the Syriac prefaces adds a personal dimension to the themes found in the other extracts, relating the experiences of David, Christ (for those psalms traditionally read as Messianic), and other figures to the trials of the Christian life. Their words of complaint, entreaty, and gratitude become a resource for Christians to employ in their own struggles. Other aspects of the *Letter*, and the manner in which a longer section of it is transmitted in the Vatican manuscript, will receive further attention below.

Before resuming the sequence from the catena, the Syro-Hexapla prefaces insert an anonymous text entitled "Explanation [*pūšāqā*] of Hebrew Words [*leksīs*] in

the Book of Psalms."[29] This, too, was translated from Greek, as becomes clear when studying the list of terms. It was originally ordered alphabetically, but in the Syriac translation that arrangement became scrambled. For example, Αἴγυπτος, "Egypt," became *Meṣreyn* in the Syriac translation but kept its original place near the beginning of the list. Included are proper names, literary genres, toponyms, unusual words – that is, the sort of things normally addressed in scholia and texts used for catenae. Given that the Syro-Hexapla manuscripts have only a small amount of close textual commentary, at least compared to the catenae, the editor of the Syriac preface provides some by including this text. The two Baghdad manuscripts omit this terminological analysis, but the compilers were aware of it, noting the omission at the place where it would have appeared.[30] There is no trace of it in Vatican Syr. 135.

Next comes the text by Origen that prompted this investigation. It occurs in the Greek catena preface and in every Syriac manuscript.[31] Origen addresses the usual topics: the ascription of the Psalms to David, why there are 150 of them, how the Psalter relates to the historical narratives in the rest of the Bible, the musical qualities of the *psaltērion*. There is nothing exceptionable. The Greek was included in Pitra's *Analecta sacra* on the basis of Italian manuscripts only (thus missing Barocci 235 and also Paris Gr. 143). The late nineteenth-century *Analecta* remains the only printed edition of most of Origen's scholia on the Psalms, among which, unbeknownst to Pitra, were intermingled hundreds by Evagrios Pontos.[32] In addition to the scholia, Pitra gathered introductory notes on the Psalms attributed to Origen in various manuscripts, among which was this text. Most of the Greek witnesses apart from Barocci 235 are silent on its authorship. Only a marginal note in Barberini III, 59, one of the manuscripts consulted by Pitra, persuaded him to present it as Origen's. All of the Syriac manuscripts follow Barocci 235 in naming Origen and include section markers within the text,[33] as found in most of the Greek manuscripts apart from Barocci 235.

The textual problem of Origen's commentaries on the Psalms is complex. There were several, including homilies, and they survive only very partially. Establishing the authenticity or source of this particular text is accordingly a challenge. The Syriac title for the work, *Šarbā d-meṭul mazmūrē* or *Šarbā d-ʿal mazmūrē* (as in Vat. Syr. 135), is not informative: *šarbā* can be translated as "discourse" or "homily" and is used for several of the texts in the Psalter preface. Rondeau and others find confidence in its inclusion in what they regard as the earliest and most reliable of the Greek catenae, as found in Barocci 235.[34] There is also evidence from the Latin tradition that supports the authenticity of at least some of this material. The prologue to the *Treatise on the Psalms* (*Tractatus super Psalmos*) of Hilary of Poitiers features no less than seven passages contained in the text edited by Pitra, six of which are contained in the portion translated into Syriac.[35] Hilary clearly borrowed heavily from one or more of Origen's lost commentaries, probably encountered during a sojourn in Phrygia (355–359) when he learned Greek and read Origen.[36] Hilary's use of Origen was well known in the ancient world; Jerome tartly remarks that Hilary copied Origen's work, adding a few thoughts of his own.[37] Hilary brought Origen's interpretation of the Greek text of the Psalter to bear on its close

cousin, the *Vetus Latina*, before Jerome's turn to the *Hebraica veritas* widened the gap between the Greek and Latin Christian versions of the Bible. Hilary's *Treatise* is a very early witness to Origen's text and a precious example of Latin exegesis of the Psalms at a time before Jerome and Augustine swept all before them – the former by doing just what he snidely accused Hilary of doing.

In the Greek catena, the passage by Origen is followed by an excerpt from Basil's *Homily on Psalm 1* about the *psaltērion*; the Syriac manuscripts add it to the earlier excerpt from the same homily. Then the Greek catena has a second passage attributed to Origen, with a more characteristic mix of allegorical and philological analysis.[38] Continuing the musical theme, he notes that the higher tone of the *psaltērion* represents the higher kind of body found in Christ and the saints, in which only purity is found. The rest of the text, on the difference between psalms and odes and on the definition of the term *diapsalma* used in most of the Greek translations of the Psalter, covers the same ground as the Hippolytan homily contained in the Syriac manuscripts, which may explain its absence in them.

The last common text is an extract from Epiphanios's treatise *The Book on Measures and Weights*, about the traditional division of the Psalter into five books. Like the first text attributed to Origen, this occurs in every manuscript, Greek and Syriac. The quirk here is that the Vatican manuscript attributes it to Athanasios and features a different translation; it then continues under the same title with a brief passage that did indeed circulate under Athanasios's name but was actually by Eusebios.[39] This and other unusual features of the manuscript will be explored more below.

With the text by Epiphanios (or "Athanasios"), the Syriac prefaces conclude. The Greek catena preface continues with a passage by Didymos on references to the Psalms in the New Testament and concludes with a brief note by Theodoret about the fact that Psalms 1 and 2 have no title in Hebrew, providing a transition to the catena. Alone among the Syriac witnesses, Vatican Syr. 135 contains the text by Didymos, though in a different location; none of them have the text by Theodoret. The omission of Didymos is hard to explain given the willingness to include Origen. The omission of Theodoret's innocuous comment on titles, however, is perhaps less surprising given his complicated position in the ecclesiastical politics of the Syriac churches.

Vatican Syr. 135

We have already noted some ways in which Vatican Syr. 135 stands apart from the other Syriac witnesses to the Psalter preface. Both its presentation of the extracts and the other materials associated with them in the manuscript make it unique. Like most of the other Syriac witnesses (the Baghdad manuscripts being the exceptions), Vatican Syr. 135 too was once at Deir al-Surian, leaving Egypt with J. S. Assemani in 1715. This was a century after the Milan manuscript, a century before those now in the British Library.

Within the present binding are leaves from several different manuscripts. As it currently exists, the manuscript has two major parts: the first concerns the Psalms (ff. 1–12); the second contains several works by, or related to, Philoxenos, as well

as a series of anti-Nestorian and other texts (ff. 13–100). Added to the end are two leaves from a quite different liturgical manuscript. The twelve folios devoted to the Psalms are in three distinct sections, written in two different early Serto hands of the eighth or ninth century.[40] These sections are:

1 ff. 1 and 6: a correspondence between Barlaha of the Monastery of Mar Elias, "known as the Chariot [*merkabta*]," and Simeon, abbot of the Monastery of Likinios on the Black Mountain (near Antioch), about translating a work of Athanasios on the Psalms. As Ignazio Guidi suspected, this was likely Athanasios's *Letter to Markellinos*, which is found in the third section.[41]
2 ff. 2–5: a collection of excerpts from Psalm commentaries by various authors closely paralleling the preface to the Syro-Hexapla Psalter, from a different but roughly contemporary manuscript.[42]
3 ff. 7–12: a substantial fragment of Athanasios's *Letter to Markellinos*, containing chs. 10–26 (out of 33 total), by the same scribe as ff. 2–5.

The first section consists of two folios, later separated from each other and bound so as to enwrap the excerpts from the commentaries. The first letter (ff. 1v and 6r) is entitled "Letter encouraging a translation (*pūšāqā*) of this book, which is an interpretation (*pūšāqā*) of the Psalms, from the Greek language to the Syriac language."[43] In it, Barlaha of the Monastery of Mar Elias writes to Simeon that he has a book of ten folios in Greek, which he calls the "Proemion," preceding Athanasios's "interpretation" (*pūšāqā*) of the Psalms.[44] He wants it translated into Syriac. His local translator, named John, has only managed a little bit – "one or two books, along with the rest of the *qephalalā* (Greek *kephalaia*) they translated from Greek to Syriac" – and cannot do any more.[45] So he writes to Simeon, the abbot (*rēšdayrā*) of the Monastery of Likinios on the Black Mountain, northwest of Antioch, to ask him to take it on.

Simeon does the job. His letter to Barlaha was sent back with the translated book, with remarks about his method of translation and cautions to the readers.[46]

> I gave myself to translating this book from Greek into Syriac, and I am trusting in your fatherhood that your mind will not be disturbed when you find in the book expressions or names that are different from the Syriac version [*mšalmanūthā*] or strange in the placement of the word [compared] to what we Syrians are familiar with. It required great effort for me to discover how it was possible accurately to bring forth into Syriac the phrases [*petgamē*] expressed in the Greek language. And whenever a word is not correct ["flowing"] or placed as is customary for it in Syriac, that is to make known the power of the phrases in accord with, and fulfilling, the interpretation [*pūšāqā*] that the teacher made for them. I also make known to your charity that in one of the copies of this book, I found written above it "Scholion of the Blessed Athanasios". . . .

There the text breaks off.

Barlaha and Simeon are otherwise unknown. We know nothing of their respective monasteries, unless this is the same Mar Elias known some centuries later.[47] We do know the Black Mountain, though mostly from later sources (from the early tenth century, and especially in the eleventh and twelfth).[48] The fragment containing the two letters is written in a different, though similar, hand from the other two sections related to the Psalms and may originally have been part of another manuscript. The second letter is incomplete. But someone – before these texts reached Europe – thought that the correspondence belonged with Athanasios's *Letter* and the psalm commentaries.

Several questions naturally arise. First, what book did Barlaha send to Simeon? It is a "Proemion" written on ten folios, an introduction to the Psalms that was neither very brief nor very extensive. As Guidi suggested, the *Letter to Markellinos* fits the bill by its length and contents[49] and could explain why someone thought the letters and the translation belonged together. Second, what were "the rest of the *kephalaia*" translated by Barlaha's friend John? Were these the excerpts taken from the catena preface? Or were they other works of Athanasios, such as his *Exposition of the Psalms* (*Expositio in Psalmos*), which is extant in Syriac? Yet someone who had translated that substantial text would hardly have been daunted by the *Letter to Markellinos*. The fact that the collection of excerpts and the *Letter to Markellinos* were copied by the same scribe may suggest a connection, possibly as far back as the time of translation. John may have managed to do the preface extracts, but the whole of Athanasios's *Letter* was too much after his previous effort.

The peculiar features of the collection of extracts on the Psalter in the Vatican manuscript support the notion that we are seeing two distinct translation projects in the manuscript. Unlike the other Syriac miscellanies, this one does not include a selection from Athanasios's *Letter*. In that respect it hews closely to the Greek catena preface. Instead, there is that longer portion of Athanasios's *Letter* in the quite distinct third section of the manuscript (ff. 7–12), which has every indication of being the remnant of a complete translation. Eventually, a portion of the *Letter to Markellinos* (in that translation) would be included in the Syriac prefaces.

The manuscript demonstrates further differences from the other Syriac collections. There is no trace of the opening "Athanasian" or Hippolytan material. As it stands – for the manuscript is missing at least one folio from both the beginning and end of this section – the first text is a passage by Cyril of Alexandria that occurs in none of the other collections studied here, Greek or Syriac.[50] The last text, also incomplete because of the missing folio(s) at the end, is attributed to Athanasios. Its first lines are in fact the text from Epiphanios found in the other Greek and Syriac collections, though here in a distinctive Syriac translation.[51] After a division marker the text continues, and one finds the passage with which Bar 'Ebroyo's scholia and the London manuscript *begin*.[52]

There are other points of distinction. The Vatican manuscript contains a text by Didymos found in the Greek catena preface but not in the other Syriac versions. The excerpts from Basil's homily are a different translation, with a different title,[53] and are presented as a continuous text under a single title rather than as

two extracts with proper headings. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the few lines that connect the two sections in Basil's original homily are present here, whereas the divided version found in the Greek catena preface and the other Syriac witnesses does not contain them. The translation found uniquely in the Vatican manuscript is somewhat pleonastic, adding "holy" or "of God," for example, when the word "spirit" is used; the Syriac version of the other manuscripts is quite literal.[54]

To move to a larger question: what is the relationship among the disparate Syriac collections, of which this is the most idiosyncratic? The paucity of surviving evidence, with only a few manuscripts, and many of them incomplete, makes it very difficult to answer definitively. There are simply too many gaps in the chain of transmission. My inclination is to see the Vatican manuscript as witnessing to an early Syriac tradition of the texts circulating as an independent collection. Having been spun off from the Greek catena, they came into Barlaha's hands, and his brother monk John translated them into Syriac. In this state of the collection some new elements – Cyril at the beginning, the "Athanasian" text at the end – surround the core of Basil, Eusebios, Didymos, and Origen found in the Palestinian catena preface. The *Letter to Markellinos*, in a complete translation, is still presented separately. The Baghdad manuscripts (and probably the one from St. Petersburg) would then point to a next stage: adding the introductory text from Hippolytos, providing a more accurate translation of the texts from Basil, inserting a lengthy selection from the *Letter to Markellinos* within the collection, including the treatise on Hebrew words. Finally, the London and Milan manuscripts reveal a collection further enriched with the "Athanasian" opening text, and the whole of it now used a preface to the Syro-Hexapla Psalter. It was this collection that was summarized by Bar 'Ebroyo. This reconstruction can only be speculative. What fascinates, apart from the complex (re)arrangement of the collection, is its evident popularity and multi-purpose use, morphing from Greek catena preface to Syriac florilegium, and then to a preface for both the Peshitta and Syro-Hexapla Psalters.

The *Letter to Markellinos* and ascetic experience of the Psalms

Athanasios's *Letter*, which became such a prominent component of the Syriac preface, merits closer attention. Rooted in monastic perspectives on the Psalter, this remarkable text was very popular, and as noted earlier it was often used as a preface to Greek manuscripts of the Psalter. Although it is not found in the Greek catena type that was the *Vorlage* of our Syriac Psalter prefaces, it does turn up in later ones.[55] The *Letter* was never a source for the catenae themselves; as Françoise Petit has noted, "spiritual or sapiential exegesis, beloved in monastic circles, is not represented in the catenae."[56] That may explain why it was not used even in the preface of the earliest catena.

The *Letter* is considered a mature work of Athanasios, perhaps from the 360s, and provides a further indication of how much he was influenced by the burgeoning monastic movement even after writing his famous *Life of Antony* around 357 CE.[57] The literary conceit of the *Letter* has Athanasios offering to Markellinos,

an ailing ascetic, some instruction about the Psalter that he had received from a "studious old man [γέρων]," a traditional designation for a monk (ch. 1). This monk reappears at the end of the letter to offer recommendations about the use of biblical verses against demons, or antirrhetic prayer (ch. 33). In between, the *Letter* is heavily indebted to Origen as well as to what Athanasios had observed of the monastic practice of using the Psalms for prayer.[58]

There is no complete translation of the *Letter* still extant in Syriac. It occurs in partial form in four of our manuscripts.[59] They all feature the same translation, which is careful and faithful.

1 Milan, Ambrosianus C313 Inf., ff. 2vb–5ra (8th/9th c.): extract beginning a few lines into ch. 14, ending after the first sentence of ch. 27 (PG 27:25, l. 42–37, l. 49); the extract is complete.
2 Baghdad, Chaldean Patr. 1113 (12th c.), ff. 5v, l. 26–8v, l. 3: as in the Milan manuscript; the extract is complete.
3 Baghdad (*olim* Diyarbakir), Chaldean Patr. 211 (1126 CE), copied in Borgia sir. 113, fols. 6v, l. 14–10v, l. 26: as in the Milan manuscript; the extract is complete.[60]
4 Dayr al-Suryān Syriac Fragment 43 and BL Add. 14434, f. 4r (7th/8th c.): two fragments from the same manuscript, constituting portions of chs. 16–17 and 25–26.
5 Vatican Syr. 135, ff. 7r–12v (8th/9th c.): section starting just after the opening of ch. 10 and breaking off at the start of ch. 26; missing folio(s) at beginning and end.

The six folios from the Vatican manuscript preserve the fullest Syriac text of the *Letter*. Their abrupt opening and closing confirm that this was part of a longer, perhaps even complete, copy of the *Letter* in Syriac, now missing its opening and closing folios.[61] This becomes significant when one considers that the most distinctive parts of Athanasios's *Letter* are toward its beginning and end.[62] In them, Athanasios (in the guise of his γέρων) moves beyond conventional commentary to reflect more deeply on the experience and effects of praying the Psalms. The portion in Vatican Syr. 135 starts precisely with the important Chapter 10 and runs through the beginning of Chapter 26, where it breaks off. The final part of the *Letter* was probably once there as well.

In the first of those key sections of the *Letter*, after the commonplace observation that the Psalter is a compendium and epitome of Scripture, Athanasios explains how the Psalms differ from the rest of the Bible. He writes that they are uniquely personal, expressing the deepest "movements" of the soul, providing words to identify emotions that might otherwise have gone unnoticed and unspoken.

> The one saying the words is speaking them as his own. He sings them as if they had been written about him: he receives and hands them on not as if said *by* someone else, or as if signifying about someone else, but he says them as

> if speaking about himself. And whatever things are said, he offers up to God as if he himself had done them and is speaking about himself.
>
> (Chap. 11/col. 24AB; cf. chap. 12/col. 24D)

Because the Psalms, in Athanasios's view, are imbued with Christ as both subject and speaker, they not only mirror the soul, but also offer, in Christ, a model (εἰκών) for its conduct. For the one wishing to "understand the Savior's manner of life [πολιτεία] while in the body, first the Holy Book suggests the movements of the soul through reading, and then, with those same words, forms [τυποῖ] and instructs those who read them" (chap. 14/col. 25C).

In the second key section, Athanasios uses Greek musical theory to explain how sung psalmody soothes and harmonizes the disturbed soul. The Platonic tripartite soul, with its unruly elements, and the body, with its "movements," are transformed together into a spiritual *psaltērion* (chap. 28/col. 40BC), and formerly discordant thoughts become cymbals keeping time, with the Holy Spirit as conductor. Chanting the Psalms both induces the desired state and expresses it (chap. 29/col. 41AB). The "opening out" of the voice in psalmody separates the Psalms and similar biblical canticles from other genres of the Bible (chaps. 27–29/cols. 37D–41B).

The selection from the *Letter* in the other Syriac manuscripts begins immediately *after* the section on the experience of praying the Psalms and ends before the interesting turn in the discussion of the musical aspects of psalmody. Without Vatican Syr. 135, the only part of the *Letter* known in Syriac translation would be the middle section,[63] which is basically a catalog of topics and situations contained in the Psalter. In other words, it is the usual stuff of psalm commentaries. The Vatican manuscript provides evidence that more of the *Letter*, indeed probably the whole of it, had been translated into Syriac.

The later use of a portion of that translation in prefaces to the Syro-Hexapla shows that it was known, even if it has left few other traces in the Syriac manuscript tradition. The choice of the section of the *Letter* that is more a catalogue of the Psalms than an exploration of their use in prayer can be explained by the purpose of the prefatory material, which was to orient the reader to the Book of Psalms both as a whole and in its parts. Delving into spiritual experience or the psychosomatic effects of psalmody was not relevant to the task immediately at hand. The existence of a complete Syriac translation shows that at least some Syriac-speaking monks were interested in those aspects of psalmody. The explicit interest of Barlaha and Simeon in the exegesis of Athanasios, and particularly in the *Letter to Markellinos*, suggests their conviction that the Psalter should not only be understood intellectually but should be prayed at a very deep, even intimate, level of experience and profound emotional comprehension. Given the respect for Athanasios and the importance of the Psalms in monastic life, one cannot help but wonder why the translation has not left more traces in the manuscript tradition.

The interest in the *Letter to Markellinos* and the willingness to include Origen (and in the case of the Vatican manuscript, Didymos as well) in the Syriac translation of the extracts on the Psalms may suggest an orientation toward

Alexandria. However, the use of the preface in both Diophysite and Miaphysite environments reminds us that useful texts could pass back and forth across confessional boundaries that may appear more rigid to the modern observer than they were in fact.

Last, as with Origen's commentary on the Psalms, so too with Athanasios's *Letter* there is a link to the West. The affinities between the closing section of John Cassian's *Conference Ten* and the *Letter to Markellinos* have been noted in past scholarship.[64] A brief quotation from Cassian echoing the portions of the *Letter* described earlier provides a sample:

> All of these feelings (*adfectus*) we find expressed in the Psalms. Seeing what happens [to us] as in the clearest mirror, we understand [it] better, and taught by our feelings as our teachers (*magistris adfectibus*), we lay hold of it as something seen rather than merely heard or memorized. With feeling (*adfectu*) we bring it forth (*parturiamus*) from the depths of the heart like something innate to the very nature of things. We penetrate to its meaning not by reading a text, but are led there by experience.[65]
>
> (*Conf. 10*, 11.6)

Such experience, however, did in fact begin with reading, and reading of the Psalms was helped greatly by the overviews and roadmaps provided by introductions to the Psalter. Ascetics east and west needed help entering the world of the Psalms and making them their own. This brief study has considered just one small stream of such guidance, with many unexpected bends and twists in its course through the centuries. Much more remains to be discovered.

Notes

1 See Giovanni Mercati's remarkable but very dense *Osservazioni a proemi del Salterio di Origene, Ippolito, Eusebio, Cirillo Alessandrino e altri: Con frammenti inediti*, Studi e testi 142 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948). On the Syriac side he focused only on the manuscripts of the Syro-Hexapla Psalter, leaving aside the Peshitta.

2 See Marie-Josèphe Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (IIIe–Ve siècles)*, OCA 219 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1982), 196–97; and Marie-Josèphe Rondeau, "L'Épître à Marcellinus sur les Psaumes," *Vigiliae Christianae* 22:3 (1968): 177–78.

3 Identified as Type VI in the standard typology of Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus*, Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse (Göttingen: Horstmann, 1902), 29–30.

4 Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes: contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 43–46 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 1.115ff, and Ekkehard Mühlenberg, ed., *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, vols. 15, 16, 19, Patristische Texte und Studien (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), 3.131–33. On the state of discussion about Prokopios' role in the development of the catenae, see William Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 103–08.

5 Of course it is much better in Italian: "Insomma si è sopra un terreno malfermo e insidioso, nel quale è facile scivolare e sprofondare, anche perchè vi rimane dell'ignoto" (Mercati, *Osservazioni*, 6).

6 For a lithographed facsimile, see Antonio Maria Ceriani, *Codex syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus*, Monumenta sacra et profana 7 (Milan: Impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1874). The text of the Psalms, without any of the preface except the text by Origen, was published by Gaetano Bugatti, *Psalmi secundum editionem LXX interpretum* (Milan: Pirola, 1824). For the history of the manuscript and of its transport to Milan, see Cesare Pasini, "Per la storia della siro-esaplare Ambrosiana (alla luce delle annotazioni siriache e copta recentemente rinvenute sul codice)," *OCP* 71 (2005): 21–58.

7 William Wright, ed., *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* (London: British Museum, 1870), 1:35–36 (as nos. LIV and LV). I was able to consult this manuscript in person. Note that a single folio at the Monastery of Deir al-Surian in Egypt belongs to the Psalter preface of the first part of the manuscript (i.e. Wright's no. LIV): Frag. 43, as in Sebastian P. Brock and Lucas van Rompay, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir Al-Surian, Wadi Al-Natrun (Egypt)*, OLA 227 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 401–02 [description and edition] and 691–92 [plates].

8 Described as no. IV in Nina Viktorovna Pigulevskaya, *Katalog siriyskikh rukopisey Leningrada (Каталог сирийских рукописей Ленинграда)*, Palestinskiy sbornik 6 (69) (Moscow: Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1960), 18–20. This manuscript is often known in modern scholarship as 10t1, the code assigned to it in the Leiden Peshitta project. Thanks to Dr. Olga Yastrebova, I was able to consult a good photograph of the relevant folio.

9 Cf. pl. CLXXXXIV in William Henry Paine Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1946), 234–35.

10 When the collection was at the Patriarchate in Mosul, this was *Cod. 4* as in Addai Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du Patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul," *Revue des Bibliothèques* 17 (1907): 227–60, at 229. The code assigned to it in the Leiden Peshitta project is 12t3. Additional descriptions in W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 12–13, and Robert J. V. Hiebert, *The "Syrohexaplaric" Psalter*, Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 27 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 8–9. The present location and condition of the manuscript are unknown; it is not among those recently recovered from the Patriarchal Library and digitized. I worked from the copy in Borgia sir. 113.

11 See descriptions in Addai Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques du Musée Borgia aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque vaticane," *Journal Asiatique*, 10th ser., 13 (1909): 272–73; Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, 13; Hiebert, *The "Syrohexaplaric" Psalter*, 9–10. The copy was made by the priest Yawnan, completed on May 30, 1868, at Bartelli in northern Iraq.

12 See Addai Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l'archevêché chaldéen de Diarbékir," *Journal Asiatique*, 10th ser., 10 (1907): 346–47. This manuscript was assigned the code 12t4 by the Peshitta Institute. See the more detailed description in H. F. van Rooy, *Studies on the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms*, Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 11–26, though without any attention to the preface. As with the other Baghdad manuscript, the present location and condition of this one are unknown. I was able to consult a digitized version of the microfilm held by the Peshitta Institute, now at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, thanks to the kindness of the director, Prof. R. B. ter Haar Romeny, and of Prof. Eva Mroczek of Indiana University, who digitized the film. The microfilm includes the prefatory texts and biblical material of the manuscript, omitting the extensive liturgical sections and any back matter indicative of provenance.

13 Though entire, the manuscript omits the Eusebian *Periochai*, which are instead distributed throughout the Psalter, and the *Explanation of Hebrew Terms*, the omission of which is noted in the manuscript.
14 The manuscript is a composite, with the largest part consisting of controversial works written in an Estrangela hand of the 7th/8th c. The sections of interest here are obviously later. The description of the manuscript in S. E. Assemani and J. S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum Catalogus*, 3 vols. (Rome: Typographia Linguarum Orientalium, 1756), 3:213–16, is confused with respect to the opening folios; see the discussion below. This manuscript is now available online from the BAV thanks to its partnership with Brigham Young University to digitize portions of the Syriac collections.
15 On Paul of Tella, the Syro-Hexapla, and the anomalous situation of its Psalter, see Roger J. V. Hiebert, "Syriac Biblical Textual History and the Greek Psalter," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Roger J. V. Hiebert et al., Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 178–204.
16 For the Syriac, see Otto Fredrik Tullberg, *Gregorii Bar Hebraei in Psalmos scholiorum specimen e codicibus mss. syriacis* (Uppsala: Leffler & Sebell, 1842), 1–3; English trans. in Julius L. Siegel, *The Scholia of Bar Hebraeus on the Psalms* (Ph.D. diss., Chicago: University of Chicago, 1928), 1–3.
17 As Mercati noted of the Syro-Hexaplic manuscripts in general, "I fogli sono ampi e i codici sono mutili" Mercati, *Osservazioni*, 30.
18 For speculations about the origins of the latter, see Pasini, "Storia della siro-esaplare Ambrosiana," 37–38.
19 Pasini establishes that Ambrosianus C313 Inf. was in Egypt before the year 1000 on the basis of its Coptic (re-)binding: "Storia della siro-esaplare Ambrosiana, 30–37.
20 On the history of the library (and its subsequent dispersal), see Sebastian P. Brock, "Abbot Mushe of Nisibis, Collector of Syriac Manuscripts," in *Gli studi orientalistici in Ambrosiana nella cornice del IV centenario, 1609–2009: Primo dies academicus, 8–10 novembre 2010*, ed. Carmella Baffioni, Orientalia Ambrosiana 1 (Rome: Bulzoni, 2012), 15–32 and Brock and Rompay, *Catalogue*, xiii–xxi.
21 The modern copy, Borgia sir. 113, is also dated.
22 His enthusiasm is evident in the note that follows the colophon (f. 133r on the copy in Borgia sir. 113): "if you are seeking understanding in reading or are a lover of beauty, then read the psalms in the edition of the Seventy."
23 These commentaries were omitted by the copyist of Borgia sir. 113.
24 Note that Mercati did not discuss either the Baghdad or Vatican manuscripts, as his concern was for the Greek and Syro-Hexapla prefaces only.
25 See the first scholion in the *Awṣar Rāzē* (ed. Tullberg, 1) and Mercati, *Osservazioni*, 28–33.
26 This is assumed by both Ceriani, *Codex syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus*, 3–4, and Mercati, *Osservazioni*, 29, but the fact that it is not in Chaldean Patr. 1113, otherwise so meticulous in reproducing the contents of the Milan preface, suggests caution.
27 For background and editions, see Harald G. Buchinger, "Die älteste erhaltene christliche Psalmenhomilie: Zu Verwendung und Verständnis des Psalters bei Hippolyt," *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 104 (1995): 125–44, 272–98 and J. A. Cerrato, *Hippolytus between East and West: The Commentaries and the Provenance of the Corpus*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); English trans. of the original Greek text now in Alistair Stewart-Sykes, trans., *On the Apostolic Tradition* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 175–82. Lagarde published a similar Syriac text based on BL Add. 12154 in *Analecta Syriaca* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1858), 83, l.27–86, l.2.
28 This second section occurs later in the Greek catena; the Syriac translator brought them together.

29 See Franz Xaver Wutz, *Onomastica sacra; Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum des hl. Hieronymus*, *TU* 41 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914), 7–8 (commentary) and 792–801 (Syriac text and Greek retroversion).
30 Chaldean Patr. 211 has the note in the body of the text; Chaldean Patr. 1113 relegates it to the margin.
31 The Greek can be found in J. B. Pitra, ed., *Analecta sacra et classica Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, 3 vols. (Paris: Typis Tusculanis, 1884), 2.428 l.20–432 l.37.
32 See Marie-Josèphe Rondeau, "Le commentaire sur les Psaumes d'Évagre le Pontique," *OCP* 26 (1960): 307–48, and *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (IIIe–Ve siècles)*.
33 I could not verify this for Chaldean Patr. 211, as the copy in Borgia sir. 113 does not feature a section marker.
34 E.g., Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (IIIe–Ve siècles)*, 56, 59. See also Raimondo Riva, "La 'Introduzione ai Psalmi' falsamente attributa a Ippolito e il Cod. Ambr. C313 Inf.," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 1, Studi e testi 231 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964), 355–60.
35 In his footnotes, Pitra provides references to the parallels.
36 Charles Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, The Bible in Ancient Christianity 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1000–01; Emile Goffinet, *L'utilisation d'Origène dans le commentaire des Psaumes de saint Hilaire de Poitiers*, Studia Hellenistica 14 (Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1965).
37 *Imitatus Origenem nonnulla etiam de suo addidit* (*De vir. inlust.* 100, as in Jerome and Gennadius, *Liber de viris inlustribus*, ed. E. C. Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 14.1 [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896], 48); see also Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (IIIe–Ve siècles)*, 63 n.133.
38 Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, 2:433 l.10–435 l.17.
39 A further quirk is that the same Syriac text appears within the Hippolytan material on the Psalms in British Library Add. MS. 12154 (ff. 28r–33v), published in Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, 83–87; this text at p. 86, ll.2–7.
40 As a comparison, see Pl. XCVI (dated 790 CE) in Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts*.
41 Guidi published the Syriac text of the letters in 1886 and untangled some of the problems with the description by Assemani (Ignazio Guidi, "Mose di Aghele e Simeone Abbate," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 4:2 (1886): 547–54); I thank Sebastian Brock for this reference.
42 The script is smaller, with more words per line and more lines per page.
43 Ff. 1v, ll. 1–29+6r, ll. 1–26 "Letter encouraging of a translation [*pūšāqā*] of this book, which is an interpretation [*pūšāqā*] of the Psalms, from the Greek language to the Syriac language. From Barlaha of the Monastery of Mar Elias, known as Markabta (chariot) to Simeon, abbot [*rēšdayrā*] of the Monastery of Likinios of the Black Mountain."
44 Note that *pūšāqā* can mean either commentary or translation, as with the English word "interpretation."
45 There is a hint of a team of translators, with a plural verb referring to the translation of the *kephalaia* (f. 6r, l. 13).
46 Ff. 6r, l. 27–6v, l. 32 (end): "Letter sent in the Spirit as a reply to this same letter, that one above, being the reply of Simeon of the Monastery of the Lady Mary, Mother of God, of the monastery of Likinios, to the priest Barlaha of the monastery (*siyāgtā*) of Mar Elias of the Chariot, to the letter sent to him by the hand of the deacon Damian."
47 In the eleventh century there are references in several liturgical manuscripts to a monastery of Mar Elias (also known as that of Mar Pantalemon) on the part of the Black Mountain known as the "Boar's Head." See, e.g. BL Add. 14488, 14489, 14510; Vat. Syr. 21 and F. C. Burkitt, "Christian Palestinian Literature," *JThS* 2 (1901): 176–79.
48 See Sebastian P. Brock, "Syriac Manuscripts Copied on the Black Mountain, near Antioch," in *Lingua restituta orientalis: Festgabe für Julius Assfalg*, ed. Regine Schulz

and Manfred Görg, Ägypten und Altes Testament 20 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 59–67.

49 He also notes that some manuscripts of the *Letter* bear the title προοίμιον εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῶν ψαλμῶν (Guidi, "Mose di Aghele e Simeone Abbate," 553).

50 Mercati, *Osservazioni*, 130 (comments) and 141 (text); my thanks to David Taylor for identifying this excerpt. Mercati discusses Cyril's commentary with respect to the Greek prefaces; because his interest in the Syriac version was confined to the Syro-Hexapla prefaces, he does not address Vat. Syr. 135.

51 This passage, in the same translation, is found in BL Add. 12154 alongside the Hippolytan material on the Psalms used in the other Syriac collections (Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, 86, ll.2–7). On the attribution to Athanasios, see Mercati, *Osservazioni,* 88–91.

52 They attribute it to "Athanasios," as here, but it is actually by Eusebios.

53 "*Mēmrā* spoken by [Basil] on the first three verses of *Happy is the man who does not walk in the ways of the wicked* [=Ps. 1]", f. 2r, ll. 4–5.

54 Both render Basil's biblical citations directly from the Greek rather than using existing Syriac translations.

55 Rondeau, "L'Épître à Marcellinus sur les Psaumes," 180, n. 20.

56 Françoise Petit, "La Chaîne grecque sur la Genèse, miroir de l'exégèse ancienne," in *Stimuli: Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum: Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann*, ed. Georg Schöllgen and Clemens Scholten, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 23 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 252.

57 Rondeau, "L'Épître à Marcellinus sur les Psaumes," 176–97, and Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (IIIe–Ve siècles)*, 79–80.

58 See the overview in Columba Stewart, "The Use of Biblical Texts in Prayer and the Formation of Early Monastic Culture," *American Benedictine Review* 61 (2011): 193–206.

59 Rondeau, "L'Épître à Marcellinus sur les Psaumes," 177–78.

60 Because I was unable to consult the original manuscript, I provide only the folio numbers for the copy.

61 A possible trace of this complete translation may be found in the late 9th century use by Moshe bar Kepha of Chapter 1 of the *Letter* in the introduction to his commentary on the Psalms. See J. M. Vosté, "L'Introduction de Mose Bar Kepa aux Psaumes de David," *Revue Biblique* 38 (1929): 220–21, and Arthur Vööbus, "New Manuscript Discoveries on the Old Testament Exegetical Work of Mōšē Bar Kēphā," *Abr Nahrain* 10 (1970): 98.

62 Chap. 10 until the start of chap. 14 (cols. 20B–25C), and chaps. 27–29 (cols. 37C–41B).

63 Starting some lines into chap. 14, after the first section described above, and continuing to the first line of chap. 27, before the psycho-musicology.

64 For a detailed comparison, see Stewart, "Biblical Texts in Prayer."

65 Latin text: *Iohannis Cassiani. Conlationes* XXIIII, ed. Michael Petschenig, CSEL 13 (Vienna: Geroldus, 1886), 305. English translation my own.

4 Expressions of prayer in late antique inscriptions in the provinces of Palaestina and Arabia

Leah Di Segni

If personal prayer outside the contexts of formal rubrics is an intimate communication with God and, as such, individual and informal, expressions of prayer that are exposed to the public eye in inscriptions are neither. All epigraphic expressions of prayer are organized according to formulas that encase what may have been a private, spontaneous feeling into a fixed, conventional combination of words. Nevertheless, it is still possible to distinguish among different categories of inscribed prayer that preserve in larger or lesser measure the directness and unaffectedness of the appeal to God. At one end we have the simplest invocations, requiring minimal literacy and often expressed in graffiti roughly scratched in any place where the believer found himself or herself remembering God and feeling the need of his help or protection. At the other extreme are prayers expressed in words taken from scripture: these required not only adequate literacy and learning but also a worthy, usually monumental location. Most likely these prayers were also believed to have greater potency, as they were set forth in divine words. In between we can consider the petitionary formulas combining a specific invocation (for God's remembrance, mercy or help, or for the salvation, succor or repose of a person or persons) with an explicit or implicit hint to merit acquired by the petitioner through offerings at the holy place where the inscription was set up; for this type too requires a monumental location. The real significance of this category – prayer, or something else? – ought to be discussed.

Inscribed petitions

Let us consider first the most unsophisticated, and apparently most spontaneous, expressions of prayer. They are usually worded in the simplest form: Κύριε μνήσθητι, Κύριε βοήθει, Κύριε ἐλέησον, "Lord, remember," "Lord, help," "Lord, have mercy on so-and-so," or very often "on your servant, your handmaid so-and-so." In any venerated place and along the route to it, wherever a plastered or masonry wall still stands or a rock surface is not too weatherworn, graffiti left by passersby, visitors and pilgrims preserve their prayers in these plain formulas. This is true not only for places held to be holy because of a scriptural memory, such as Mount Sinai or the Holy Sepulcher, or because of their consecration, such as a church or a monastery, but also for places held sacred because of some

marvelous phenomenon occurring there. Nor is this type of invocation reserved only for sacred places. Phrases such as "Lord (or Christ), help so-and-so" appear also on the lintels of private houses[1] and on amulets and personal ornaments.[2] In these contexts they probably had an apotropaic rather than a devotional function, and this may be the case also for some of the similarly worded inscriptions set up in public spaces. Nor are these invocations a Christian innovation. Although we may ask ourselves whether the Greek and Aramaic synagogue inscriptions "May so-and-so be remembered for good and for blessing"[3] were addressed to God or to the community, it is quite clear that the μνησθῇ and βοήθει invocations had a pagan use before they were adopted by Christians. Several third-century examples addressed to Zeus Obodas can be seen in the Acropolis of ʿAvdat.[4]

To illustrate the wide spectrum of this type of prayer, let us consider some examples from different contexts. In Sinai, the routes leading to the mountain where Christian tradition locates the giving of the Law to Moses, especially Wadi Mukattab and Wadi Haggag, are full of graffiti scratched by pilgrims from many periods and in many languages, including prayer formulas of the type discussed here.[5] In Bethany, an ancient *mikveh* became a pilgrimage site in the fifth to early seventh centuries due to its identification with the room where Martha and Mary entertained Jesus (Luke 10:38–40; cf. Jerome, Ep. 108, 12). The plastered walls are covered with dozens of graffiti, some of them worded as prayers: "Lord remember, help, have mercy."[6] In several cases the graffiti consist only of names, in themselves representing the pilgrim's prayer in this holy place, in the tradition of pagan *proskynemata* such as are found, for instance, in the Valley of the Kings in Egypt.[7] At Horvat Qasra near Beth Govrin, the walls of a Second Temple Period tomb transformed into an underground church are marked with many graffiti in Greek, Aramaic and Arabic, invoking the Lord or Saint Salome, to whom the chapel was dedicated, to have mercy, to remember and to help, in some instances without even mentioning the supplicant's name.[8] In the monastery of Theoktistos in Wadi Mukallik, graffiti expressing prayers are scattered on the rock-cut walls of the church as well as on the rock surface of an area in front of the gate provided with a stone bench and a cistern, where visitors could wait to be admitted to see the holy men within. Women, who were not permitted to enter monasteries, would present their requests here, and some of them left their names and invocations on the rock.[9]

In the world of Byzantium, where manifestations of imperial power were styled "divine" and senior officers received their appointments by "adoring the sacred purple," it is not surprising to find invocations for Christ's help as well as quotations from the Gospel preaching obedience to authority in a different kind of sacred space: the governor's palace in Caesarea.[10] Another different kind of sacred space is found at Hammat Gader, where the healing virtue of the hot springs invested the place with religious awe even before the advent of Christianity.[11] This aura was enhanced in the heyday of the baths in the fifth and sixth centuries, when we hear that *incubatio* was also practiced there.[12] The floors of the bathhouse are studded with dozens of inscriptions, most of them beginning with a cross and the words: "In this holy place, may be remembered . . .", followed by the name of a

visitor, often with those of members of his household or friends.[13] That the phrase expressed more than just a wish to leave a testimony of the visitor's presence in the place is indicated not only by the reference to its holiness but also by the fact that several inscriptions are worded as explicit prayers. One (no. 35) reads: "In these holy places may Hilaria be remembered. Synkletios uttered this prayer; harken O Lord, amen!" Other inscriptions read: "God, creator of all things, help . . ." (nos. 13, 33); "Lord, help . . ." (nos. 26, 32, 62); "Lord, remember . . ." (nos. 48, 71); "May the grace of God be with . . ." (no. 25). Notably, the inscriptions are not graffiti but are hewn with tools and show a professional hand. Most likely an offering was required for permission to have the inscriptions engraved, and perhaps the homage to the holy place and/or the invocation were felt to be part of, or contributing to, the healing. If this is so, it makes the Hammath Gader *corpusculum* nearer to the petitionary inscriptions in churches than to the plain expressions of prayer in the various kinds of places described above.

As in Hammath Gader, the insertion of prayer formulas in the pavements of churches, of which we see hundreds of examples in all parts of the region, was no doubt conditional on some involvement of the supplicant in the erection or decoration of the building. He might be a member of the clergy who initiated or supervised the work, or one of the builders or mosaic layers; but most often he or she was a benefactor, often explicitly identified as such. In many cases the prayer is expressed in the same simple formulas as those found also in graffiti – appeals to the Lord to remember, help, have mercy, etc. – but the monumental location shows plainly that the supplicant had some status in the church as clergy or benefactor, or as worker if an appropriate profession is mentioned. For instance, the mosaic pavement of the lower, fifth-century church at Horvat Bata (Carmiel) bears eighteen inscriptions mentioning twenty-two men, ten of them identified as members of the clergy. Eleven inscriptions contain the formula "Lord, remember . . ." or "May be remembered . . ."; seven consist of a name followed by a sum of money, a *gramma* (1/4 of a *solidus*) or half a *solidus*.[14] In spite of the varied wording, all the inscriptions convey the same message: all the twenty-two men, in order to have their names inscribed in the mosaic pavement, must have donated, though in many cases the amount of their offering is not specified, probably because it was more modest than the sums given by others;[15] and all those who wanted their names to appear in the sacred space did it for the sake of piety, even when no prayer was put into words – just like those pilgrims who wrote only their names at a pilgrimage site. In other cases the invocation is still simple but more articulate, as in two inscriptions in the church of Beit Saḥur, which read: "Remember O Lord your servant Lazarus and all his offering, amen" and "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on your servant Hesychios."[16] In some cases the intercession of saints is invoked, as in the churches of Khirbet ʻAlya in Upper Galilee, Bahan and Khirbet el-Burak in Samaria.[17]

In the majority of cases, the mention of the supplicant's offering is instrumental in presenting an explicit request. Then the supplication becomes more composite and diversified. This type can be classified as dedicatory inscriptions, of which innumerable examples are known in Palestine and Arabia. They contain two

elements: mention of an offering (προσφορά or καρποφορία of so-and-so; or the phrase "Lord, or Saint, accept the offering of so-and-so") and a petition formula (for the salvation, for the succor, for the remittance of sins, for the repose, for the remembrance, etc.). Given the prominence of the first element, this large category may be unflatteringly described as prayer-cum-contract, whose origin seems to me to be rooted in the pagan tradition. One is reminded of Chryses's prayer to Apollo (Iliad A, 39–42, transl. Alexander Pope):

> If e'er with wreaths I hung thy sacred fane,
> Or fed the flames with fat of oxen slain;
> God of the silver bow! thy shafts employ,
> Avenge thy servant, and the Greeks destroy.

Once one discounts the vindictive aspect of Chryses's prayer, much the same elements can be found in any dedicatory inscription in a Christian context: reminding the godhead of one's offering and asking for a divine reward. A simple example of *do ut des*, yet this type of supplication inscribed in a sacred space must surely have been regarded by the beholder as no less sincere and praiseworthy than any expression of faith of a devout Christian commending himself and/or his kin to the grace of God. But we should not forget that, besides their devotional intent, these inscriptions, like all dedicatory inscriptions, aimed principally at advertising and enhancing the status of the donor in the community and sometimes even at laying claim to privilege in the sacred place. Some examples significantly illustrate this aspect.

The Northern Church at the Lower Herodium was a private church belonging to an extended family or a clan, as is indicated by a large inscription in the nave, at the foot of the bema, which reads: "Lord Jesus Christ and Saint Michael, receive the offering of your servants, the children of Iulesas, the siblings Saphrica and Anael, and their households, and Salael and his children, and Abraham and his children, and Zana and Nona and Zana daughter of Nona." But a nuclear family within the clan laid claim to preeminence through two additional inscriptions, one in the narthex at the entrance to the nave, oriented westward so that it could be read on coming out of the church, and the other in a room attached to the northern side of the building. The first reads: "This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter through it (Ps. 117:20). Lord, remember your servant Anael and Saprika." This Saprika was not Anael's sister (who had her own household, and whose name anyway is spelled differently) but his wife, as is apparent from the other inscription, which reads: "Saint Michael, accept the offering of your servant Anael and his family, Saprika and Mamas." The latter was surely the couple's son.[18] A similar assertion of preeminence appears in a church in Jabaliya, north of Gaza, erected in 496/7. In a second building phase, rooms were added – or at least paved – on the northern side of the church. Three inscriptions – two on the threshold of passages leading from the northern aisle to these rooms and one in the middle of a room – date this stage to the years 528 to 530.[19] On the

mosaic pavements of this wing are four or possibly five supplicatory inscriptions, two praying for the salvation of benefactors, one for their repose, two containing the formula "Lord, accept the offering of so-and-so."[20] Two of these inscriptions (nos. 4 and 5) mention the same donor, the monk Paul, son of Ulpianos, with his sister Mary; one of the two (no. 4) also includes another sister (?), Flavia.[21] In the next building stage, a baptistery and two adjacent rooms were paved to the north of the northern wing. The baptistery pavement is dated 549 CE by a building inscription mentioning Bishop Markianos of Gaza, but two additional inscriptions proclaim that the mosaics in the baptistery and in the adjacent room to the west were paid for by the same Paul, son of Ulpianos, now a priest, who prays for his own salvation and for the repose of his sister Mary.[22] A third inscription, framed in a medallion at the western end of the northern aisle, prays for the salvation of Paul, son of Ulpianos and the repose of Mary.[23] No other benefactor appears in the mosaic pavements of this stage. It is worth noting that Paul was not the priest in charge of the church, for the building inscription mentions a *chorepiskopos*, and one of Paul's inscriptions begins with the words: "Under Prokopios, priest and *paramonarios* (warden of the church)." Apparently Paul belonged to a wealthy family of the neighborhood and at first competed with other benefactors but later asserted his superior status by displaying his name and family connection wherever a space was available in the new mosaic pavements. It is not inconceivable that this display of status aimed also at claiming burial privileges in the church or in its annexes, but since the excavation has not yet been published, it is impossible to ascertain whether this hypothesis is viable. This, however, is exactly the situation in the monastery of Kyra Maria in Beth Shean.

This small monastery is attached to the northern city wall of ancient Scythopolis. According to the excavator, it was built as a unit, with minor changes in later stages. However, a scrutiny of its ground plan and of the excavation report shows that it was erected in two major phases: first the eastern wing, then the western. The eastern wing consists of a chapel fronted by an open narthex and connected to a tower and a section of the city wall through a walled courtyard, and of a few rooms south of the church. The western wing includes a large hall with a magnificent mosaic pavement that connects the eastern wing to a reception room, also splendidly paved, a refectory, kitchen and other apartments that form the western wing. This second stage was accompanied by minor changes, including the creation of a tomb in a central location, between the hall and the narthex. In my opinion, the eastern wing was built for a recluse, Elias, who is mentioned in the church and whose original abode may have been the tower of the city wall, and for a few monks who served him.[24] The benefactor who built this wing was the Lady Mary, as is indicated by an inscription in front of the entrance to the chapel, which reads: "O Christ the God, savior of the world, have mercy upon the Christ-loving Lady Mary and her son Maximos, and grant rest to their forefathers, through the prayers of all the saints, amen."[25] Within the church two burial places were prepared; on each, an inscription in mosaic explained how to open the lid for the purpose of depositing bodies. In

the northern one the recluse Elias buried his sister, who died on 10 April 567. This tomb was reopened for more burials, damaging the inscription, which was restored by a later and less practiced hand. At least four dead were interred here.[26] In the inscription over the southern burial, after the instructions for opening the pit, the same Elias affirmed the right of the Lady Mary and her family and descendants to be buried there, and anathematized whoever might try to hinder them or remove the inscription. At least two dead were buried in this tomb.[27] The recluse Elias, now also a priest, was still in charge of the monastery when the western wing was built, as is indicated by an inscription at the northern edge of the mosaic pavement of the hall, in front of the entrance to the reception room.[28]

Two more inscriptions mention a new group of donors: one is set at the southern edge of the hall in front of the entrance, the other at the northern edge, facing a small room created in this building stage that may have been Elias's new abode and was later walled up to become his tomb. The southern inscription reads: "Offering for the memory and perfect rest in Christ of the *illustris* Zosimos, and the preservation and succor of John, *gloriosissimus* ex-prefect, and of Petros and Anastasios, Christ-loving *comites*, and of all their blessed house, through the prayers of the saints, amen."[29] The other reads: "O Christ our God, be the protector and succor of Lord John, *gloriosissimus* ex-prefect, and of all his blessed house, through the prayers of the saints, amen."[30] Some time later, when the refectory west of the hall was paved, the monastery had a new abbot, who is named in the building inscription together with his deputy (*deuterarios*) and was obviously Elias's successor.[31] The titles held by John and by his family members show that the family belonged to the senatorial aristocracy. It is impossible to guess whether they were related to the Lady Mary's family or were independent donors, but clearly their prayers, like hers, were an assertion of their patronal status in the monastery, and it is not unlikely that they too were granted burial rights in the church, in the northern tomb that had first been used for Elias's sister, where the remains of at least four bodies were discovered.

Artists' signatures in mosaic pavements and those of stonecutters on carved stonework are well known in Byzantine Palestine. The signatures represent pride in the craftsman's handiwork and a wish for recognition of its worth, but more than that, they were a means for social promotion and possibly also for professional advertisement. When the artist's name appears in the context of an invocation inscribed in the mosaic, we can hardly ignore the presence of all these motivations alongside the devotional one. Just as a donor flaunts his status above that of the simple faithful who read his prayer in the sacred space, so the artist uses his prayer to lift himself above the anonymous laborers who built and decorated the church. So, for instance, Zosys the mosaic layer adds his name to those of the bishop and the priest who offer their prayer in front of the altar in the Northern Church at Shiloh. The inscription reads: "Lord Jesus Christ, preserve Eutonios the bishop and Germanos the priest and Zosys the mosaic-layer who has made this." Not far from this, another inscription hints discreetly that Zosys had also given some benefaction to the church.[32]

Biblical and apotropaic prayers

Many expressions of prayer in late antique inscriptions are quotations from biblical texts, which are common especially (but not only) in cult buildings. They are usually presented to the visitor in conspicuous positions: on lintels above the entrance or on mosaic floors in various strategic spots in a church. Many, of which only minimal remnants survive, were also painted on plastered walls or voussoirs. Recently the study of biblical quotations in inscriptions has been made easier by the monumental work of Antonio Felle, *Biblia epigraphica*, published in 2006, the last and most complete product of research on this subject, starting towards the end of the nineteenth century.[33] Felle's work commends itself not only for the vast range and depth of the scholar's research but particularly for his awareness of the importance of the material and archaeological context of the quotations and for his efforts to provide information about the physical setting of each inscription in his corpus. Nevertheless, this work does not obviate the necessity of turning to the excavation reports in some cases in which the information provided by Felle is not sufficient to clarify the significance of a particular quotation in a particular context.[34]

The vast majority of biblical quotations come from the Book of Psalms, the main source of liturgical and private prayer of early Christianity. But when we examine such quotations in single inscriptions, we discover that verses recited or chanted as prayer in a devotional context seem to fulfil a different function – sometimes different functions in different situations – when seen in their material setting. Let us explore this conjecture through some examples.

By far the most frequently quoted verses of the Book of Psalms are Psalm 120 [121]:8 ("The Lord will protect your coming in and your going out") and Psalm 117 [118]:20 ("This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter through it").[35] The former had an apotropaic value more than a devotional function. This becomes clear when we observe that, although in central and southern Israel as well as in Jordan this verse has been found only in churches, engraved on a lintel above the entrance or set in a mosaic panel in front of it, in the Golan and the Hauran it appears on lintels of buildings of uncertain character (see Table 4.1).[36]

In at least one case (at Tsil) an addition to the text proves that the inscription belonged in a private house, and this is most likely true of several other cases in the same region. A similar quotation protecting the entrance is 1 Kings [1 Sam] 16:4, "In peace (be) your coming in," sometimes with the addition "and your going out," which is found at the entrance to churches as well as on the thresholds of public and private buildings.[37] It must be pointed out that apotropaic inscriptions on the lintels of private homes are common throughout the region, and although all are of a religious character, they are not always of scriptural origin. The commonest is the *alpha* and *omega* flanking a cross, a reference to Revelation 1:8 and 22:13, that marks innumerable lintels of both sacred and profane buildings. Another common quotation, but not a scriptural one, is the phrase τούτῳ νίκα ("in this, conquer") flanking a cross (compare: "Hoc signo vinces").[38]

Table 4.1 Inscriptions from the provinces of Palaestina and Arabia with scriptural quotations in Greek

NB: For corpora, only number of inscription is given (e.g.: *CIIP* II, 1172).

F followed by number refers to the number of the inscription in A. Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*.

Text	*Place*	*Type of place*	*Bibl.*	*Function*
Gen 49:13	Madaba (Madaba map)	church	*IGLJ* II, 153 (152) = F 88	didactic
Gen 49:25 (+ Deut 33:13)	Madaba (Madaba map)	church	*IGLJ* II, 153 (43) = F 91	didactic
Deut 7:12–13	Caesarea	villa	*CIIP* II, 1172 = F 189	augural
Deut 28:6 see 1 Kgdms [1 Sam] 16:4				
Deut 33:12	Madaba (Madaba map)	church	*IGLJ* II, 153 (54) = F 90	didactic
Deut 33:13 (+ Gen 49:25)	Madaba (Madaba map)	church	*IGLJ* II, 153 (43) = F 91	didactic
Judg 5:17	Madaba (Madaba map)	church	*IGLJ* II, 153 (70) = F 89	didactic
1 Kgdms [1 Sam] 16:4	Kh. Samra (Golan)	church	*SEG* XXXVII, 1499A = F 98	apotropaic
1 Kgdms [1 Sam] 16:4	ʻEvron (Acco district)	church	*SEG* XXXVII, 1515 = F 182	apotropaic
1 Kgdms [1 Sam] 16:4	Beth Shean	monastery	Tzori 1971: 240, Tb. 68:2 = F181	apotropaic
1 Kgdms [1 Sam] 16:4	Caesarea, revenue office	public building	*CIIP* II, 1338 = F 191	apotropaic
1 Kgdms [1 Sam] 16:4	Caesarea, praetorium	public building	*CIIP* II, 1344	apotropaic
1 Kgdms [1 Sam] 16:4	Caesarea, mansion	private	*CIIP* II, 1345	apotropaic
1 Kgdms [1 Sam] 16:4	Tel Malhata (Negev)	public building	*NEAEHL* III: 936–937	apotropaic
4 Kgdms [2 Kings] 2:21	Madaba, cathedral	fountain in church	*IGLJ* II, 136 = F 84	
Ps 4:8	Caesarea	villa	*CIIP* II, 1172 = F 190	augural
Ps 21 [22]:5	Caesarea, praetorium	vault	*CIIP* II, 1153	
Ps 21 [22]:10–11	Umm el-Jimal (North Jordan)	tower of barracks	*PAES* IIIA, 250 = F 103	
Ps 22 [23]:1	St. Michel at Tel Maresha (South Judea)	church	Kloner and Stark 1986: 279 = F 188	
Ps 22 [23]:1	Ascalon Barnea	church	*SEG* XXXVII, 1472 = F170	

Text	*Place*	*Type of place*	*Bibl.*	*Function*
Ps 22 [23]:1	Bread stamp at Hecht Museum	church?	unpublished	
Ps 23 [24]:1	Gaza	church?	*ARP* II: 404–407, no. 7A = F 158	
Ps 23 [24]: 7, 9	Deir Mukallik (Judean desert)	monastery	*SEG* XLV, 1963 = F 178	
Ps 26 [27]:1	Jerusalem, St. Stephen's cemetery	monastery	*CIIP* I/2, 890 = F 213	
Ps 26 [27]:1	Palestinian lamps	private use	Loffreda 1989:122 = F 223–226	
Ps 27 [28]:6–7	Na'aran (Golan)	church or monastery	Gregg and Urman, 101 = F159	
Ps 28 [29]:3	Shiqmona or Caesarea basin or cistern	church?	*CIIP* II, 1174 = F 174	apotropaic (?)
Ps 28 [29]:3	Jerusalem, cistern	church	*CIIP* I/2, 789 = F 205	apotropaic
Ps 28 [29]:3 in Aramaic	Wadi Suweinit (Judean desert)	monastery	Marcoff and Chitty 1929:169	apotropaic
Ps 28 [29]:3	Nessana, cistern	church	Kirk and Welles, 28 = F245	apotropaic
Ps 28 [29]:3	Jeberl Harun (Petra)	church of monastery	*SEG* LII, 1733 (11)	apotropaic
Ps 28 [29]:3	Abadah, S of Kerak, cistern	?	*SEG* LX, 1756	apotropaic
Ps 28 [29]:10	Amman	church	*IGLJ* II, 46 = F 95	
Ps 30 [31]:1	Jerusalem, St. Stephen's	monastery	*CIIP* I/2, 889 = F 214	
Ps 34 [34]:6	Shiloh (East Samaria)	baptistery	Di Segni 2012: 213	baptismal
Ps 33 [34]:6	Umm er-Rasas (Jordan), Church of the Courtyard	chapel	*SEG* XXXVII, 1616 = F 82	baptismal?
Ps 34 [35]:1	Umm el-Jimal (North Jordan)	tower of barracks	*PAES* IIIA, 249 = F 101	apotropaic?
Ps 35 [36]:8–10	Jug	provenance unknown	Stève and Benoit 1949 = F 218	
Ps 41 [42]:1	H. Hadath (Lod district)	chapel	*SEG* XXXVII, 1497 = F 184	

(*Continued*)

Table 4.1 (Continued)

Text	*Place*	*Type of place*	*Bibl.*	*Function*
Ps 44 [45]:3	ʻAin Fit (Golan)	tomb	Séjourné 1898: 126–127 = F 233	
Ps 45 [46]:5–6	Kibbutz Magen (Northwest Negev)	church	*SEG* XXXV, 1553 = F 186	definition of sacred space
Ps 50 [51]:21	Mt. Nebo, Siyaga	church	*IGLJ* II, 79 = F 76	didactic
Ps 50 [51]:21	Mt. Nebo, Mekhayyet	church	*IGLJ* II, 99 = F 78	didactic
Ps 50 [51]:21	Maʻin (Jordan)	church	*IGLJ* II, 159 = F 73	didactic
Ps 54 [55]:24 cf. 55 [56]:4	Bethany, Cave of the Sisters of Mercy	pilgrimage site	*CIIP* I/2, 842.4	
Ps 58 [59]:2	Horvat Barod (South Judea)	church (of monastery?)	unpublished	
Ps 64 [65]:5	Horvat Barod (South Judea)	church (of monastery?)	unpublished	definition of sacred space
Ps 64 [65]:5	Gerasa, Propylaea Church	church	Welles 1938, 331 = F 79	definition of sacred space
Ps 64 [65]:5	Madaba, Church of prophet Elijah	church	*SEG* XLIV, 1406 = F87	definition of sacred space
Ps 65 [66]:20 = 67 [68]:36	Deir Qalʿa (Lod district)	monastery	Di Segni 2012:157	
Ps 65 [66]:20= 67 [68]:36	Gaza, epitaph of a priest	tomb	Meimaris 1992: 125, no. 109	
Ps 65 [66]:20= 67 [68]:36	Quweisme (Jordan)	church	*IGLJ* II, 54b = F 94	
Ps 67 [68]:35	ʻAin Kenise (Nebo)	chapel of monastery	*SEG* XLIV, 1409	
Ps 76 [77]:11	Madaba, cathedral	fountain in church	*IGLJ* II, 137 = F 85	
Ps 76 [77]:14–15	Ezraʻ (Hauran)	church	Waddington, 2501 = F 105	
Ps 84 [85]:8	Umm el-Jimal (North Jordan)	tower of barracks	*PAES* IIIA, 265 = F 102	apotropaic?
Ps 85 [86]:2–3	Deir Qeruḥ (Golan)	church	*NEAEHL* I: 348–349	
Ps 85 [86]:1–3	Gerasa, Propylaea Church	church	Welles 1938, 331 = F 79	
Ps 86 [87]:2	H. Hesheq (Upper Galilee)	church	*SEG* XL, 1448 = F 231	definition of sacred space

Text	*Place*	*Type of place*	*Bibl.*	*Function*
Ps 86 [87]:2	Ma‘in (Jordan)	church	*IGLJ* II, 158	definition of sacred space
Ps 86 [87]:2	Umm er-Rasas, Church of Bishop Sergius	church	*SEG* XXXVII, 1598 = F 83	definition of sacred space
Ps 90 [91]:1	Jerusalem, St. Stephen	monastery cemetery	*CIIP* I/2, 891 = F 215	apotropaic?
Ps 90 [91]:1	Bethlehem, bracelet	private use	*SEG* XXIX, 1606 = F168	apotropaic
Ps 90 [91]:1	Caesarea, amulets	private use	*CIIP* II, 1689	apotropaic
Ps. 90 [91]:4–7	Jebel Harun (Petra), dipinto	monastery	*SEG* LII, 1733 (10); LVIII, 1775	
Ps 92 [93]:5	Bahan (Samaria)	church	*SEG* XXXII, 1519 = F 179	definition of sacred space
Ps 92 [93]:5	Caesarea, mansion	private chapel	*CIIP* II, 1348	definition of sacred space
Ps 92 [93]:5	Ascalon Barnea	church	*SEG* XXXVII, 1472 = F 170	definition of sacred space
Ps 92 [93]:5	Birsama (Northwest Negev)	church	*SEG* XLVI, 2010 = F 173	definition of sacred space
Ps 99 [100]:4	Surman (Golan)	church	*SEG* XLVI, 1994.6 = F 209	definition of sacred space
Ps 105 [106]:4–5	Kh. ed-Deir (Judean desert)	monastery church	*SEG* XXXVII, 1493 = F 183	
Ps 117 [118]:19	Bostra	?	*IGLS* XIII, 9039 = F 116	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:19–20	Bethlehem	church	*SEG* VIII 235 = F160	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:19–20	Abu Khof (Beersheva)	church	*SEG* XLVI, 2028 = F 172	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Bab el-Hawa (Golan)	?	*SEG* XLVI, 1924 = F 207	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Tell Basul (Beth Shean Valley)	monastery	*SEG* XXXVII, 1533B = F 180	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Jerusalem, Mount of Olives	church or monastery	*CIIP* I/2, 831 = F 202	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Herodion (South Judea)	Northern Church	*SEG* XL, 1472 = F 165	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	‘Ein Ma‘amudiye (South Judea)	monastery	Stève 1946: 569 = F 166	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Kh. Khoreisa (South Judea)	?	*SWP* III: 356–357 = F 232	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Kh. Karmil (South Judea)	church	Mittmann 1971: 87–88 = F 167	definition of sacred space

(*Continued*)

Table 4.1 (Continued)

Text	*Place*	*Type of place*	*Bibl.*	*Function*
Ps 117 [118]:20	‘Anab el-Kabir (South Judea)	church	Di Segni 2012: 388–389	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Kh. el-Qasr (South Judea)	monastery	Di Segni 2012: 301	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Kibbutz Magen (Northwest Negev)	church	*SEG* XXXV, 1549 = F 187	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Beersheba	?	Alt 1921: 14, no. 9 = F 196	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20 (in CPA)	Hura (near Beersheva)	monastery	unpublished	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Mount Sinai	monastery	Ševčenko 1966): 262	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Megreh (Jordan), lintel	?	Canova 1954, 427 = F104	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Ma‘in (Jordan)	church	*IGLJ* II, 158 = F 74	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Kreye (Hauran), lintel	?	Dunand 1933: 242, no. 181 = F 97	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Imtan (Hauran), lintel	?	Dunand 1933: 247, no. 198 = F 93	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Jimmirin (Hauran)	?	Waddington, 1960 = F 117	definition of sacred space
Ps 117 [118]:20	Salchad (Hauran)	?	Waddington, 1995 = F 111	definition of sacred space
Ps 118 [119]:105	Palestinian lamps	private use	*SEG* XXXIX, 1617 = F 227, F 229	
Ps 120 [121]:7	Siyar el-Ghanam (Shepherds’ Field)	monastery	Corbo 1955:40 = F 161	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Juweize (Golan), lintel	?	*SEG* XLVI: 1959 (2) = F 210	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Quneitra (Golan), lintel	?	*SEG* XLVI, 1980 (4) = F 211	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Kh.Samra (South Golan)	church	*SEG* XXXVII, 1499 = F 100	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Tell Basul (Beth Shean)	monastery	*SEG* XXXVII, 1533 = F 180	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Jerusalem, Mount of Olives	church or monastery	*CIIP* I/2, 831 = F 202	apotropaic

Text	*Place*	*Type of place*	*Bibl.*	*Function*
Ps 120 [121]:8	Jerusalem, St. Peter in Gallicantu	church or monastery	*CIIP* I/2, 801 = F 203 (F 206 is the same)	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Jerusalem, Dominus Flevit	chapel of monastery	*CIIP* I/2, 826 = F 204	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Beit Loya (South Judea)	church	*SEG* XXXV, 1540 = F 176	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	ʻEin Maʻamudiye (South Judea)	monastery	Stève 1946: 569 = F 166	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Kh. Karmil (South Judea)	church	Mittmann 1971: 87–88 = F 167	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Gerasa, Church of Elias, Maria and Soreg	chapel	Piccirillo 1993: 296 = F80	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Jubeihah (Amman)	church	*IGLJ* II, 6 = F 96	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Bostra, block and lintel	private?	*IGLS* XIII, 9037–9038 = F 108–109	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Moghaire (Hauran), lintel	private?	Dunand 1933: 253, no. 240	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Tsil (Hauran), lintel	private?	Ewing 1895: 42, no. 1= F 113	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Tafas (Hauran), stone	private	Schumacher 1886: 217 = F 112	apotropaic
Ps 120 [121]:8	Melah es-Sarrar (Hauran), lintels	private?	*PAES* IIIA, 707–708 = F 114–115	apotropaic
Ps 121 [122]:1	Pardessiya (Sharon)	church	Ayalon 2008: 77, fig. 10	definition of sacred space
Ps 126 [127]:1	Mardocha (Hauran), lintel	private?	Dunand 1932: 562, no. 70 = F 110	
Ps 133 [134]:3	Madaba, Church of the Apostles	church	*IGLJ* II, 142 = F 86	
Ps 137 [138]:7	Caesarea, painted on wall	?	Germer-Durand 1894: 251 = F197	
Ps 143 [142]: 12	Umm el-Jimal	tower of barracks	*PAES* IIIA, 265 = F 102	apotropaic?
Prov 13:9	Beit Loya	church	*SEG* XXXV, 1541 = F 175	baptismal
Is 6:3	Rings, provenance unknown	private use	Goodnick Westenhotz 2007: 116–117, nos. 62–63	

(*Continued*)

Table 4.1 (Continued)

Text	*Place*	*Type of place*	*Bibl.*	*Function*
Is 65:25	Ma'in (Jordan)	church	*IGLJ* II, 160 = F 75	didactic
Jer 10:16	lamp	private use	Loffreda 1989: 130, no. 822	
Jer 38 [31]:15; Mt 2:18	Madaba (Madaba map)	church	*IGLJ* II, 153 (81) = F 92	didactic
Micah 7:18	Ezra' (Hauran), lintel	church?	Waddington, 2501 = F 105	
Mt 1:23	Shuneh (Jordan)	church	*IGLJ* II, 67	
Mt 1:23	Bethany, Cave of the Sisters of Mercy	pilgrimage site	*CIIP* I/2, 842 (55)	
Mt 1:23	Ampullae of the Holy Land	private use	Grabar 1958, 1–4, 6–8, 14–16, 24	
Mt 11:28	Near Hebron, painted on plaster	church or monastery	Lifshitz 1970: 77, no. 15 = F 162	
Mt 11:28	Deir Mukallik, fresco	monastery	Chitty 1928: 148 = F177	
Mt 28:6; Mk 16:6	Ampullae of the Holy Land	private use	Grabar 1958, 2, 6–9	
Lk 21:2	Ezra' (Hauran), lintel	church or monastery	Waddington, 2500 = F 106	
Lk 23:42	Jerusalem, Damascus Gate	chapel of monastery	*SEG* XLIII, 1063	
Lk 23:42	Kh. Murassas, monastery of Martyrius	two chapels in monastery	*SEG* XL, 1497, 1499 = F 185, 201	
Lk 23:42	Shiloh, Northern Church	baptistery	Di Segni 2012:213	
Jn 1:1	Jerusalem, S. Peter in Gallicantu,	church	Galavaris 1970: 89–90 = F216	eulogia
Jn 5:24	Near Hebron, painted on plaster	church or monastery	Lifshitz 1970: 77–78, no. 16 = F 163	
Jn 8:12	Near Hebron, painted on plaster	church or monastery	Lifshitz 1970: 77–78, no. 17 = F 164	
Jn 8:12	St. George in Wadi Qelt (Jericho area)	monastery	*SEG* XXXVIII, 1648 = F 195	
Jn 11:21, 32	Deir Mukallik, tomb	monastery	*SEG* XLV, 1958 = F 199	funerary

Text	*Place*	*Type of place*	*Bibl.*	*Function*
Jn 11:25	Deir Mukallik, fresco	monastery	Chitty 1928: 148 = F 177	
Jn 11:43	Deir Mukallik, tomb	monastery	*SEG* XLV, 1958 = F 199	
Jn 20:28	Jerusalem, ampulla of the Holy Sion	private use	*CIIP* I/2, App. 41= F 217	
Rom 13:3	Caesarea, revenue office	public building	*CIIP* II, 1334 = F 192–193	didactic
1 Cor 8:6	Mardocha (Hauran), lintel	church or monastery	Dunand 1932: 561, no. 66 = F 107	
1 Cor 12:30	Hazerim (Negev)	monastery?	Gophna and Cohen 1964: 19	
1 Cor 15:52–53	Kh. ed-Deir (Judean desert), tomb	monastery	*SEG* XXXVII, 1493 = F 200	funerary
Phil 4:7	Kh.Samra (South Golan)	church	*SEG* XXXVII, 1499 = F 99	
2 Thess 1:5	Shiloh, Northern Church	baptistery	Di Segni 2012: 213	
2 Tim 4:7	Jerusalem, epitaph of nun	chapel	*CIIP* I/2, 875 = F 212	funerary
2 Tim 4:7	Gaza, epitaph		*SEG* XXXVII, 1485	funerary
2 Tim 4:7	Beersheva, epitaph of a deacon		Figueras 1985, 18 = F 198	funerary
2 Tim 4:7	Shivta (Negev), epitaph of a priest		Figueras 1985, 20 = F 246	funerary
1 Pet 2:9	Pella (Jordan), lintel	baptistery? tomb?	Germer-Durand 1899: 22–23, no. 28 = F 230	
2 Pet 1:14	Gaza, epitaph of a priest		Meimaris 1992: 125, no. 109	funerary
Rev 1:8; 22:13	In many churches, monasteries and tombs			

List of the scriptural quotations in the table above. References are given according to the numbering of the LXX.

Gen 49:13 Zebulon shall dwell at the shore of the sea – and its border shall be at Sidon.

Gen 49:25 (Joseph) – God will bless you – with the blessing of the earth that holds everything.

Deut 7:12–13 The Lord our God – will multiply you and bless – your grain and your wine and your oil.

Deut 28:6; cf. 1 Kgdms [1 Sam] 16:4	Blessed shall you be when you come in, and blessed shall you be when you go out.
Deut 33:12	Benjamin: God hover above him and has made His dwelling between his border.
Deut 33:13	Joseph: From the blessing of the Lord is his land.
Judg 5:17	Dan: why does he abide with the ships?
1 Kgdms [1 Sam] 16:4	In peace (is) your coming in.
4 Kgdms [2 Kings] 2:21	I have made this water wholesome, says the Lord.
Ps 4:8	Their grain and their wine and their oil abound.
Ps 21 [22]:5	In thee [I] trusted.
Ps 21 [22]:11–12	From my mother's womb you are my God; be not far from me.
Ps 22 [23]:1	The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.
Ps 23 [24]:1	The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof.
Ps 23 [24]:7, 9	Raise the gates, O rulers of yours! And be raised up, O perpetual gates!
Ps 26 [27]:1	The Lord is my light.
Ps 27 [28]:6–7	Blessed be the Lord, for He has heard the voice of my supplications. God is my help and my shield, in Him my heart trusted and I was helped.
Ps 28 [29]:3	The voice of the Lord is upon the waters, the God of glory thunders.
Ps 28 [29]:10	The Lord sits as king for ever.
Ps 30 [31]:2 70 [71]:1	In Thee O Lord I have hoped, let me never be put to shame.
Ps 33 [34]:6	Come to Him and be enlightened, so your face shall never be ashamed.
Ps 34 [35]:1	Judge, O Lord, those who wrong me and fight those who fight against me.
Ps 35 [36]:8–10	How abundant is Thy grace, O God! the children of men take refuge in the shadow of Thy wings, they feast in the abundance of Thy house and Thou givest them drink from the rivers of Thy delights, for with Thee is the fountain of life.
Ps 41 [42]:2	As a hart longs for flowing streams, so longs my soul for Thee, O God. Christ, help the founder.
Ps 44 [45]:3	Grace is poured upon your lips.
Ps 45 [46]:5–6	The Most High has sanctified His habitation; God is in the midst of her.
Ps 50:21 [51:19]	Then bulls will be offered on Thy altar.
Ps 54 [55]:24; 55:4	But I will trust in thee, O Lord.
Ps 58 [59]:2	Deliver me from my enemies, O my God; protect me from those who rise up against me.
Ps 64:5 [65:4]	Holy is Thy temple, admirable in justice.
Ps 65 [66]:20; 67 [68]:36 (also 2 Cor 1:3; Eph 1:3; 1 Pet 1:3)	Blessed be God.
Ps 67 [68]:35, cf. Rev 14:7; 19:7	Give glory to God!
Ps 76 [77]:11	This is the change from the right hand of the Most High.
Ps 76 [77]:14–15	What god is great like our God? Thou art the God who workest wonders.
Ps 84 [85]:8	Show us Thy grace, O Lord!
Ps 85 [86]:1–3	Incline Thy ear, O Lord, and answer me, for I am poor and needy. Preserve my life, for I am godly; save Thy servant who trusts in Thee. Thou art my God; be gracious to me, O Lord, for to Thee I cry all the day.
Ps 86 [87]:2	The Lord loves the gates of Zion more than all the tents of Jacob.
Ps 90 [91]:1	He who dwells in the shelter of the Most High.
Ps 90 [91]:4–7	His truth will encircle you with an armour; you will not fear the terror of the night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the (evil) thing [MT: pestilence] that walks in darkness nor the destruction and the demon of noonday. A thousand shall fall at your side, ten thousands at your right hand, but it will not come near you.
Ps 92 [93]:5	Holiness befits Thy house, O Lord, for evermore.
Ps 99 [100]:4	Enter these gates with thanksgiving.
Ps 105 [106]:4–5	Remember us, O Lord, with the favour Thou hast to Thy people; visit us with Thy salvation, that I may see the good of Thy chosen.
Ps 117 [118]:19	Open me the gates of righteousness, that I may enter through them and give thanks to the Lord.

Ps 117 [118]:20	This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter through it.
Ps 118 [119]:105	Thy law is a lamp to my feet.
Ps 120 [121]:7	The Lord will protect you from all evil.
Ps 120 [121]:8	The Lord will guard your coming in and your going out from this time forth and for evermore.
Ps 121 [122]:1	Let us go to the house of the Lord.
Ps 126 [127]:1	Unless the Lord watches over the city, the watchman stays awake in vain.
Ps 133 [134]:3	– the Lord God who made heaven and earth.
Ps 137 [138]:7	Thy right hand delivered me.
Ps 142 [143]:12	In Thy grace cut off my enemies!
Prov 13:9	Light to the righteous in all. [MT: The light of the righteous rejoices.]
Is 6:3	Holy holy holy is the Lord sabaoth [of hosts].
Is 58:8	Your healing will be speedily made complete. [MT: Your healing shall spring up speedily.]
Is 65:25	The lion shall eat straw like the ox.
Jer 10:16	(God) formed all things.
Jer 38 [31]:15; Mt 2:18	A voice was heard in Ramah.
Mt 1:23	Emmanuel, God is with us.
Mt 11:28	Come to me, all who labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.
Mt 28:6; Mk 16:6	He has raised.
Lk 21:2	– a poor widow put in two copper coins.
Lk 23:42	Remember me when you come into your kingdom.
Jn 1:1	In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God.
Jn 5:24	Who believes in (him who sent) me has eternal life; he does not come into judgement.
Jn 8:12	I am the Light – of life.
Jn 11:21, 32	Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died.
Jn 11:25	I am the resurrection and the life.
Jn 11:43	Lazarus, come out!
Jn 20:28	My Lord and my God!
Rom 13:3	Would you have no fear of authority? Then do what is good.
1 Cor 8:6	There is one God, from whom are all things – and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things.
1 Cor. 12:30	Do all possess gifts of healing?
1 Cor 15:52–53	For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised (imperishable, and we shall be changed). For this perishable nature must put on the imperishable, and this mortal nature must put on immortality.
Phil 4:7 and Titus 1:4	The peace of God, that passes all understanding. Peace – of Christ our Saviour.
2 Thess 1:5	That you may be made worthy of the kingdom of God.
2 Tim 4:7 (cf. Acts 20:24)	I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race.
1 Pet 2:9	– (God) has called you out of darkness into His marvellous light.
2 Pet 1:14	– the putting off of my tent (body) will be soon.
Rev 1:8	I am the alpha and the omega.

The religion represented in these apotropaic inscriptions is not always Christianity. Besides the *menorot* indicating affiliation to Judaism, particularly interesting are the formulas based on the acclamation Εἷς θεός ("There is one God!"), which appear in different contexts in different geographical areas, and with different religious affiliations, but seem to have had in common a protective function, at least in some of their occurrences. In central Israel these formulas appear in Samaritan synagogues, in the Samaritan holy place on Mount Gerizim and in public and private buildings where the lack of Christian symbols and the presence of a Samaritan community lead one to classify them as Samaritan inscriptions.[39]

In some examples in the Jewish part of Galilee, the formula may belong to Jews.[40] In the cemetery of Ghor es-Safi (Zoar), the εἷς θεός formulas appear at the head of Christian epitaphs.[41] In Golan and Hauran, lintels or building stones with the εἷς θεός formulas are followed by invocations for help or protection and sometimes by the name or names of the owner and/or the builder of the house and his kinfolk. Some of these undoubtedly apotropaic inscriptions are accompanied by Christian symbols; others are not.[42]

Apotropaic inscriptions making use of biblical quotations are far from rare and should not be viewed as expressions of prayer unless accompanied by additional words formally or informally expressing supplication. One of the most manifest examples is the use of Psalm 28 [29]:3, "The voice of the Lord is upon the waters," sometimes quoted in full: "The voice of the Lord is upon the waters, the God of glory thunders." It has been suggested that this quotation was inscribed in baptisteries,[43] but in fact it belongs to the liturgy of the blessing of the waters, which was celebrated on the Epiphany and commemorated the descent of the Holy Ghost at Jesus' baptism.[44] The epigraphic occurrences of this verse have indeed to do with water, but with neither baptism nor natural streams. The words are molded in the hydraulic plaster of cisterns in Jerusalem and Kerak; they are engraved on a cistern cap in Nessana.[45] At el-'Aleiliyat in Wadi Suweinit the verse appears in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA) over the entrance to an ancient *mikveh*, reused as a cistern by the monks of the Laura of Firminus, who occupied the caves some four centuries after Jewish rebels had hidden there from the Romans.[46] In two cases the verse is engraved on slabs, probably attached to (in Caesarea)[47] or supporting (in the monastery church on Jeber Harun near Petra)[48] a basin. Though in these last cases the quotation may have had a sacral meaning, if the basin contained water for blessing, its clearest and prevailing usage in the region was in the darkness of cisterns, and its aim was probably to protect the precious water from malignant influences.

Another evident case of the apotropaic use of a biblical text is that of Psalm 90 [91]:1 ("He who dwells in the shelter of the Most High"), which appears on amulets and personal ornaments intended to ward off evil from the wearer[49] but also at the entrance to a burial vault (Tomb III in the atrium of St. Stephen's Church in Jerusalem). Inside the vault, which contains several graves, are two more inscribed quotations, and the three are nicely graded: from the protective function of Psalm 90 [91]:1 to the expression of faith of Psalm 26 [27]:1 ("The Lord is my light," a verse more often found on lamps), incised on the rock at the eastern end of the vault, to the supplication of Psalm 30 [31]:1 and 70 [71]:1 ("In Thee O Lord I have hoped, let me never be put to shame"), engraved on a slab covering one of the graves.[50]

Apotropaic quotations joined with prayers can be found also in noncultic structures. A striking example is offered by a tower of the so-called barracks at Umm el-Jimal.[51] This compound may be the κάστελλος mentioned in a building inscription dated 412/3 CE (*PAES* III A 237); later a church was attached to it and the local tradition identifies it as a monastery (ed-Deir). The towers too seem to have been added at a second stage of building, but there is no reason to connect them to

a monastic use of the complex, if it ever existed. The four faces of the southeastern tower bear apotropaic inscriptions (the names of the four archangels, a cross accompanied by the formula "This <sign> conquers and helps"), a doxology, a prayer to Christ for protection and two prayers from the Book of Psalms: Psalm 34 [35]:1 ("Judge, O Lord, those who wrong me and fight those who fight against me") and Psalm 21 [22]:10–11, slightly modified, that reads: "Prayer of Numerianos and John: From my mother's womb Thou art my God; be not far from me." Numerianos and John were two wealthy inhabitants of Umm el-Jimal whose names appear as benefactors with their families in the nearby church known as the Church of Numerianos.[52] The lintel of a house just east of the "barracks" also bears a prayer clothed in biblical words, a mixture of Psalms 84 [85]:8 and 142 [143]:12, and Leviticus 26:7. It reads: "Lord, (show) Thy mercy and chase away (our) enemies" (*PAES* III A, no. 265). To my ear, these texts poignantly reflect the fearful expectations of the inhabitants of Umm el-Jima, a garrisoned village in the heavily fortified eastern *limes* of the Late Roman and Byzantine Empire. But protective formulas and expressions of prayer join together also in more peaceful and cheerful noncultic surroundings. In the industrial wing of the monastery at Siyar el-Ghanam (Shepherds' Field near Bethlehem), the mosaic pavement in a room adjoining the bakery and the winepress bears the prayer "Lord, help!" and an apotropaic line from Psalm 120 [121]:7: "The Lord will protect you from all evil."[53]

But let us return to Psalm 117 [118]:20, the second biblical text most quoted in inscriptions: "This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter through it." Its epigraphic use and function appear to be different from those of the apotropaic inscriptions discussed above. This quotation is found exclusively at the entrance to cult buildings, on lintels or mosaic panels. Oddly enough, in two of the twenty occurrences in the region (in the North Church at Herodion and at Abu Khof near Beersheva: see Table 4.1), the inscription in the mosaic pavement is oriented to the west – that is, the faithful read it not on coming into the church but on leaving it. In two cases, at Abu Khof and in a church near the necropolis of Bethlehem, the quotation includes also verse 19: "Open me the gates of righteousness, that I may enter through them and give thanks to the Lord," a verse that also appears alone on a lintel from an unidentified building in Bostra (see Table 4.1). The function of this quotation – Psalm 117 [118]:20 or 19 or both together – was obviously to define the sacral character of the building in which it appeared. To this end, other verses from the psalms were sometimes used, and we find them inscribed near the entrance to a church or, more rarely, at the foot of the bema: Psalm 45 [46]:5–6 ("The Most High has sanctified His habitation; God is in the midst of her"); Psalm 64 [65]:5 "Holy is Thy temple, admirable in justice"); Psalm 86 [87]:2 ("The Lord loves the gates of Zion more than all the tents of Jacob"); Psalm 92 [93]:5 ("Holiness befits Thy house, O Lord, for evermore");[54] Psalm 99 [100]:4 ("Enter these gates with thanksgiving"); Psalm 121 [122]:1 ("Let us go to the house of the Lord"). These inscriptions were conspicuously presented to the eyes of the faithful coming into the church or facing the altar and perhaps were explained to those who could not read; we may conjecture that, besides defining the sacred space, they induced reverence and prepared the hearts for prayer.

Biblical quotations inscribed in baptisteries had a similar, more specialized function. These are rare, as most epigraphic finds related to baptisteries are usually just building or dedicatory inscriptions, whereas biblical texts supposedly pertaining to baptisteries are in fact related to a different kind of water receptacle.[55] Two texts are definitely connected to baptisteries: one is Proverbs 13:9 ("Light to the righteous in all" – in the Masoretic text: "The light of the righteous rejoices"), found in the mosaic pavement beside the font in the church at Beit Loya;[56] the other is Psalm 33 [34]:6 ("Come to Him and be enlightened"), inscribed in front of the entrance to the baptistery near the North Church at Shiloh.[57] The baptistery is always called φωτιστήριον in late antique inscriptions from our region, making both texts particularly expressive of the religious experience of baptism.

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As we have seen, many epigraphic expressions of prayer fulfill other functions than a purely devotional one. Others, though genuinely spontaneous prayer, are rigidly formalized. Rarer, and most moving, are examples in which the words, though taken from the scriptural canon, transparently convey the urgency of the supplicant's emotions. I should like to conclude with two such examples. The first is a thanksgiving prayer, a quotation from Psalm 27 [28]:6–7, copied by Schumacher in the 1890s from a lintel at Na'aran in the Golan that is now lost. The inscription, probably from a church or a monastery, says: "Blessed be the Lord, for He has heard the voice of my supplications. God is my help and my shield, in Him my heart trusted and I was helped."[58] The second example is a quotation from Psalm 90 [91]:4–7, which was painted on plaster in the monastery church on Jebel Harun near Petra. It reads: "His truth will encircle you with an armor; you will not fear the terror of the night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the (evil) thing [pestilence in Masoretic text] that walks in darkness, nor the destruction and the demon of noonday. A thousand shall fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand, but it will not come near you." The medium itself, paint on plaster, indicates that the inscription was not planned with the building, like those engraved on lintels or set in mosaic pavements, but was written impromptu to fit the occasion. The editors interpreted it – rightly, in my opinion – as a protective prayer against the plague that raged in Palestine in 541 and 542 and did not spare the monasteries of the desert.[59]

Notes

1 E.g., Robert C. Gregg and Dan Urman, *Jews, Pagans and Christians in the Golan Heights* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 159–60, 199–200, nos. 125–26, 163.
2 E.g., *SEG* XXXV, no. 1530 (ring from Hammath Gader); *CIIP* I/2, no. 1085; *CIIP* II, nos. 1686–87.
3 E.g., Joseph Naveh, *On Stone and Mosaics: The Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Ancient Synagogues* (Tel Aviv: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1978), 34–36, 39, 43, 51–52, 54–64, 77–78, 92–96, 97–101, 104–12, 114–20, 121–22, nos. 15–17, 19, 21, 29–30, 32–35, 46–47, 57–60, 62–66, 69–72, 74–78, 81, 83; Zeev Weiss, "The Synagogue Inscriptions: B. The Aramaic Inscriptions," in *The Sepphoris Synagogue*, ed. Zeev Weiss (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2005), 202–8; Leah Di Segni, "The Synagogue Inscriptions: C. The Greek Inscriptions," 209–16.

4 Abraham Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev* (Jerusalem, Franciscan Printing Press, 1981), 11–18, 26–27, nos. 1a–c, 1e, 3–4, 13.
5 Abraham Negev, *The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai*. Qedem 6. (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1977); Michael E. Stone, *The Rock Inscriptions and Graffiti Project: Catalogue of Inscriptions*, vols. 1–3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992–1994).
6 Pierre Benoit and Marie-Émile Boismard, "Un ancient sanctuaire chrétien à Béthanie," *RB* 51 (1951): 200–51; *CIIP* I/2, nos. 842.1–67. One inscription is a quote from Ps 54:24, "Lord Jesus Christ, I shall put my hope in thee."
7 Jules Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des Tombeaux des rois ou Syringes* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1926). Of those, the most famous are those on the legs of the Colossus of Memnon: André Bernard and Étienne Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1960).
8 Leah Di Segni and Joseph Patrich, "The Greek Inscriptions in the Cave Chapel at Horvat Qasra," *'Atiqot* 10 (1990): 141–54, 31*–35*; *SEG* XL, nos. 1450–61; Joseph Drori, "The Cave Chapel of Horvat Qasra: The Arabic Inscriptions," *'Atiqot* 10 (1990): 137–39, 30*; Joseph Naveh, "The Cave Chapel of Horvat Qasra: The Syriac Inscriptions," *'Atiqot* 10 (1990): 139, 30*.
9 Joseph Patrich and Leah Di Segni, "New Greek Inscriptions from the Monastery of Theoctistus in the Judean Desert," *Eretz-Israel* 19 (1987): 272–81, 81*; Haim Goldfus, Benjamin Arubas, and Eugenio Alliata, "The Monastery of St. Theoctistus," *Liber Annuus* 45 (1995): 247–92.
10 *CIIP* II, nos. 1334–36, 1339.
11 This is attested by an anecdote from the life of the pagan philosopher Iamblichus (Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists*, 5, 2, in *Philostratus and Eunapius: The Lives of the Sophists*, trans. Wilmer C. Wright, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921], 368–71). On a visit to the site, Iamblichus evoked the genii of the springs, who came out of the water in the form of two beautiful boys. Indirect evidence of the superstitious aura that pervaded the springs emerges also from the description of magic rites that were performed in caves around the site in the fourth century: Epiphanius, *Panarion*, in *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* 1.1–48, trans. Frank Williams, Nag Hammadi Studies 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 125.
12 People certainly came to thermal springs to restore their health by natural means, as we perceive for instance from the report of Peter the Iberian's visit to the hot springs of Ba'aru (John Rufus, "Life of Peter the Iberian," 123–27, in John Rufus: *Life of Peter the Iberian*, in *John Rufus: The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus*, ed. and trans. with an introduction and notes by Cornelia B. Horn and Robert R. Phenix, Jr., Society of Biblical Literature, Writings from the Greco-Roman World 24 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 180–87. But a miraculous element was also added, as is attested by the *incubatio* practiced by lepers in one of the baths of the complex at Hammath Gader: *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium* 7, in *Itineraria et alia geographica*, CCSL 175, ed. Paul Geyer (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), 132.
13 Leah Di Segni, "The Greek Inscriptions of Hammat Gader," in *The Roman Bath at Hammat Gader*, ed. Yizhar Hirschfeld (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1997), 185–266.
14 Vassilios Tzaferis, "Greek Inscriptions from Carmiel," *'Atiqot* 21 (1992): 129–34. Tzaferis ignored the lack of the first line or lines in some of the inscriptions; for some important corrections, see *SEG* XLII, nos. 1458–68.
15 Offerings in gold are mentioned also in Aramaic inscriptions in synagogues, and there too the minimal amount recorded is one *gramma*. A *tremissis* (one third of a golden *solidus*) and half a dinar (*solidus*) also appear, and only rarely one or more *solidi*: Naveh, *On Stone and Mosaic*, 11. However, a *gramma* was no small sum when we

consider that the daily salary of a laborer in Byzantine Palestine was one *siliqua* (1/24 of a *solidus*). One *gramma* therefore corresponded to a full week's salary.

16 Vassilios Tzaferis, "The Archaeological Excavations at Shepherds' Field," *Liber Annuus* 25 (1975): 22–23. On the church at Beit Sahur, see Vassilios Tzaferis, "Shepherds' Field," in *NEAEHL*, IV, 1362–63.

17 The inscription of Kh. 'Alya, dated 539 CE, reads: "Lord god of Saint Marina, have mercy and give rest to Count Somas" (*SEG* VIII, no. 1). The inscription at Kh. el-Burak reads: "Have mercy upon your servant Marcianus by the prayers of Saint Kyrikos" (*SEG* XXXII, no. 1521), and that of Bahan: "Lord Jesus Christ, grant rest to all those who have gone to rest who are in the (eternal) life. Lord Jesus Christ, remember the most saintly priest Julian and give grace to him and to the lord abbot, through the prayers of the holy and glorious protomartyr Stephen, amen" (*SEG* XXXII, no. 1520, with some necessary corrections).

18 Leah Di Segni, "The Greek Inscriptions in the Northern and Eastern Churches at Herodion," in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land: New Discoveries: Essays in Honour of Virgilio C. Corbo OFM*, ed. Giovanni C. Bottini, Leah Di Segni, and Eugenio Alliata (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1990), 177–90. On the church, see Ehud Netzer, "The Byzantine Churches of Herodion," in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land: New Discoveries*, 166–71.

19 Catherine Saliou, "Gaza dans l'antiquité tardive. Nouveaux documents épigraphiques," *RB* 107 (2000): 394–95, nos. 2–3; 397, no. 6, which mentions Markianos bishop of Gaza. Since only the inscriptions were published, with no details about the excavation, there is no way to ascertain whether this wing was an architectural addition or existed since the early stage of the church and the rooms were only paved, or repaved, between 528 and 530. The first building stage is dated 496/7 CE by an inscription in the southern aisle, which mentions another bishop of Gaza, Zenobios, and two priests: Saliou, "Gaza," 392, no. 1.

20 Saliou, "Gaza," 304–96, nos. 2–5; 407, no. 17. The date of no. 17 is not certain.

21 As Saliou rightly observes ("Gaza," 396), the name Flavia points to the upper-class connection of the family. The fact that Paul, a monk, mentions his patronymic, not once but in all his inscriptions, also hints at some family pride.

22 Saliou, "Gaza," 399, no. 9 (building inscription); 400–02, nos. 10, 12 (invocations of Paul, son of Ulpianus).

23 Saliou, "Gaza," 402–03, no. 13.

24 Gerald M. FitzGerald, *A Sixth-Century Monastery at Beth Shan (Scythopolis)* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939), 2–5. For the revised interpretation of the architectural stages of the building, see Leah Di Segni, *Dated Greek Inscriptions from Palestine from the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Ph.D. diss., Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997), 404–06.

25 FitzGerald, *Monastery*, 14, no. 3; Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions," 408, no. 110.

26 FitzGerald, *Monastery*, 15–16, no. 5; Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions," 411–13, no. 112.

27 FitzGerald, *Monastery*, 14–15, no. 4; Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions," 408–11, no. 111.

28 FitzGerald, *Monastery*, 16, no. 6; Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions," 403–06, no. 108.

29 FitzGerald, *Monastery*, 13–14, no. 1; Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions," 401–02, no. 106.

30 FitzGerald, *Monastery*, 14, no. 2; Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions," 406–07, no. 109.

31 FitzGerald, *Monastery*, 16, no. 7; Di Segni, "Dated Greek Inscriptions," 413–14, no. 113.

32 Leah Di Segni, "Greek Inscriptions from the Early Northern Church at Shiloh and the Baptistery," in *Christians and Christianity* III: *Churches and Monasteries in Samaria*

and Northern Judea, ed. Noga Carmin (Jerusalem: Staff Officer of Archaeology – Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria, Israel Antiquities Authority, 2012), 211, no. 3. On a corner of the same pavement, near the remains of some built benches, a small inscription says that Zosys made the benches, probably as an offering (212–13, no. 4). For other examples of prayers offered by mosaic workers on Mount Nebo, see Leah Di Segni, "The Greek Inscriptions," in *Mount Nebo: New Archaeological Excavations 1967–1997*, ed. Michele Piccirillo and Eugenio Alliata (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1998), 430–31, 441, nos. 7, 37.

33 For a history of the research, see Antonio E. Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica: La Sacra Scrittura nella documentazione epigrafica dell' Orbis Christianus antiquus (III–VIII secolo)* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2006), 9–14.

34 For the scholar's approach to this question, see especially his synthesis: Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*, 429–34. The demand for more archaeological information – for instance, a ground plan of the excavated site – must not be viewed as criticism of Felle's work: in the framework of his book it would have been impractical to do more than he did.

35 All psalms are referred to according to the Septuagint numeration, since the quotes come from the Greek translation of the Septuagint.

36 This fact does not necessarily reflect the reality in antiquity. In the less densely inhabited areas of the Golan and the Hauran, where basalt masonry was the norm, many of the original buildings still stand, or at least stood when modern archaeology came to document them, while in central Israel and in Jordan intensive weathering of the local sandstone and robbery of stonework left only the heaviest architectural elements, such as columns and lintels of monumental entrances, more or less in situ. As for mosaic pavements with inscriptions, they are rarely found except in churches.

37 See Table 4.1. The building in Caesarea at whose entrance the quotation was inscribed (*CIIP* II, no. 1345) was identified as a bathhouse by the excavator (Joseph Porath, "The Caesarea Exploration Project – March 1992–June 1994: Expedition of the Antiquities Authority," *ESI* 17 [1998]: 42–43), but later it was revealed as part of a palatial mansion: Joseph Patrich, *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Caesarea Maritima* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 138.

38 Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* I, 28, Introduction, translation and commentary by Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 80–81.

39 Leah Di Segni, "Εἷς θεός in Palestinian Inscriptions," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 13 (1994): 94–115; Israel Roll and Oren Tal, "A New Greek Inscription from Byzantine Apollonia-Arsuf/Sozousa: A Reassessment of the Εἷς Θεὸς Μόνος Inscriptions of Palestine," *SCI* 28 (2009): 139–47; Oren Tal, "A Winepress at Apollonia-Arsuf: More Evidence on the Samaritan Presence in Roman–Byzantine Southern Sharon," *Liber Annuus* 59 (2009): 319–30; Patrich, *Studies*, 96. W. Ameling, in his comments to two of the inscriptions containing the εἷς θεός formula in Caesarea (*CIIP* II, nos. 1177, 1342) denies the Samaritan character of the formula, disregarding the many Samaritan examples in the region, now including a bilingual Greek and Samaritan inscription from Apollonia: Oren Tal, "A Bilingual Greek-Samaritan Inscription from Apollonia-Arsuf/Sozousa: Yet More Evidence of the Use of ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΜΟΝΟΣ Formula Inscriptions among the Samaritans," *ZPE* 169 (2015): 169–75.

40 See for instance Michel Yitach, "Sakhnin," *HA-ESI* 113 (2001): 13*, 16, Fig. 22. Other examples from the same area are still unpublished. For *menorot* and other Jewish symbols on the lintels of private houses, see for instance Claudine M. Dauphin, "Farj en Gaulanitide: réfuge judéo-chrétien?" *POC* 34:3–4 (1984): 233–45; Claudine M. Dauphin, Sebastian P. Brock, Robert C. Gregg, and Alfred F. L. Beeston, "Païens, Juifs, Judéo-Chrétiens et Musulmans en Gaulanitide: Les inscriptions de Na'aran, Kafr Naffakh, Farj et er-Ramthaniyye," *POC* 46 (1996): 305–40; Zvi U. Ma'oz, "Jews and Christians in the Ancient Golan Heights," *IEJ* 60 (2010): 89–93 and the bibl. cited there. The so-called "House of the Menorot" in Byzantine Jerusalem may have functioned as a synagogue: Eilat Mazar, *Final Report, The Temple Mount Excavations in*

Jerusalem, 1968–1978, Directed by Benjamin Mazar. Vol. 2. *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 200), 174–77.

41 Yiannis E. Meimaris and Kalliope I. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, *Inscriptions from Palestine Tertia* Ia: *The Inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi (Byzantine Zoora)* (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2005), 27–28.

42 See for instance Dan Urman, *Rafid in the Golan: A Profile of a Late Roman and Byzantine Village* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), 80–81, 154–55; *IGLS* V, nos. 2262, 2451, 2562; Maurice Dunand, "Nouvelles inscriptions du Djebel Druze et du Hauran," *Archiv Orientalni* 18 (1950): 160–61, 164, nos. 361, 363, 374.

43 Michael Marcoff and Derwas J. Chitty, "Notes on Monastic Researches in the Judaean Wilderness, 1928–9," *PEF* (1929): 169; Baruch Lifshitz, "Beiträge zur palästinischen Epigraphik," *ZDPV* 78:5 (1962): 82. The latter relates to a fragment of sandstone plaque said to come from Caesarea or Shiqmona that Lifshitz interpreted as coming from a baptistery. Lifshitz and Ameling, who comments on the inscription in *CIIP* II, no. 1174, support this conclusion with references to similar quotations on stone basins and metal vessels that Robert and Feissel would have related to baptism: Jeanne Robert and Louis Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 66 (1953): 175–76, no. 194; Jeanne Robert and Louis Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 67 (1954): 105, no. 28; Denis Feissel, "Vases liturgiques à citations bibliques," *Aquileia Nostra* 47 (1976): 167–71; cf. also Jeanne Robert and Louis Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 77 (1964): 232, no. 505; Jeanne Robert and Louis Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 90 (1977): 319, no. 27. However, in none of these references do the French scholars connect the quotation to baptism.

44 The anonymous Pilgrim from Piacenza (Antony of Piacenza, Itinerary 11, ed. Geyer, 135) and the Georgian Lectionary of the Church of Jerusalem (*Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (V^e^–VIIIe siècle)*, Tome 1, ed. Michel Tarchnischvili, CSCO 189 [Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1959], 19–25) attest to the celebration of the Epiphany on the western bank of the Jordan, but the liturgy certainly took place everywhere on the 6th of January, using natural water sources or basins. Cf. Denis Feissel, "Toponymes orientaux dans les epitaphes grecques de Concordia," *Aquileia Nostra* 51 (1980): 330–43; Jeanne Robert and Louis Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," 94 (1981): 482–83, no. 667; Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*, 41, 55–56, 102–03, 209, nos. 2, 31, 141, 444.

45 *CIIP* I/2, no. 789 (Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*, 126–27, no. 205); *SEG* LX, no. 1756; George E. Kirk and Charles B. Welles, "The Inscriptions," in *Excavations at Nessana I*, ed. H. Dunscombe Colt (London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1962), 145–46, no. 28 (Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*, 139, no. 245).

46 Marcoff and Chitty, "Monastic Researches," 169. The English scholars mistakenly took the *mikveh* to be a baptistery and wrote that the quotation appeared in the baptismal liturgy. As far as I know, the last is true only of the liturgy of baptism of the Copts (Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*, 116, no. 174), which is unlikely to have been used in this monastery. The cave is not attached to the church of the laura. When Patrich and Rubin explored the cave again, they recognized the true function of the cistern in its different stages: Joseph Patrich and Rehav Rubin, "Les grottes de el-'Aleiliyât et la laure de Saint Firmin: des refuges juifs et byzantins," *RB* 91 (1984): 381–87. The CPA inscription, together with Christian graffiti in Greek and crosses, were inscribed by the monastic community, which was apparently composed of both Aramaic and Greek speakers, as is attested by another CPA inscription on a mosaic pavement at the core of the laura: Moin Halloun and Rehav Rubin, "Palestinian Syriac Inscription from 'En Suweinit," *Liber Annuus* 31 (1981): 291–98.

47 *CIIP* II, no. 1174. The slab is pierced by two holes for affixing it to some surface and is decorated with birds and fishes, and the first editor (Lifshitz, "Beiträge," 82, no. 5) concluded that it came from a baptistery. Lifshitz based this conclusion on Louis Robert's supposed determination that the verse was often used in baptisteries (above, note 43). Felle's collection, however, gives the lie to this statement: of twenty-five true

occurrences of Ps 28:3 (see index, p. 522) fifteen are on objects (fountain tanks, vases and jugs); five from cisterns or wells (to which we can add the one at Kerak); one (Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*, 55–56, no. 31, from Nubia) is a wooden tablet on which the verse is repeated several times in Greek and Copt, probably for apotropaic use. The rest come from various, unclear settings, none of which can be identified as related to a baptistery. The slab from Caesarea most likely belongs to a liturgical context connected with the blessing of the water on the Epiphany festival. The bird is a known symbol of the Holy Ghost, and the fish (ΙΧΘΥΣ) of Christ. There is some doubt as to the origin of the stone, which came to the Haifa Museum either from Shiqmona, as surmised by Bellarmino Bagatti (*Antichi villaggi cristiani di Galilea* [Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1971], 107; Bellarmino Bagatti, *Ancient Christian Villages of Galilee* [Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2001], 87), or from Caesarea, as stated by Lifshitz ("Beiträge," 82, no. 5). The editors of *CIIP* included it among the material from Caesarea, arguing that Elgavish's excavations in Shiqmona had not yet begun when the slab was seen in the museum. However, the fact that the stone ended up in the Haifa Museum before Haifa University became involved in the excavations of Caesarea may point rather to Shiqmona, where M. Dothan excavated a Byzantine monastery in 1951 and chance finds were made during the Fifties: Joseph Elgavish, "Shiqmona," in *NEAEHL*, IV, 1373.

48 Jaakko Frösén, Zbigniew T. Fiema, Mika Lavento, Christina Danielli, Richard Holmgren, Jaakko Latikka, Anu Rajala, Nina Heiskam, and Antti Lahelma, "The 2002 Finnish Jabal Harun Project: Preliminary Report," *ADAJ* 47 (2003): 306–07 = *SEG* LII, no. 1733 (11).

49 E.g., Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magic Amulets* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), 306–07, nos. 321–24; Michele Piccirillo, "Un braccialetto cristiano della regione di Betlemme," *Liber Annuus* 29 (1979): 244–52; *SEG* XXIX, no. 1606; *CIIP* II, no. 1689.

50 *CIIP* I/2, nos. 889–91. Ps 90:1 appears on lintels also in Syria: *IGLS* IV, nos. 1675, 1747. For Ps 26:1 on lamps, see Stanislao Loffreda, *Lucerne bizantine in Terra Santa con iscrizioni in Greco* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1989), 122.

51 *PAES* IIIA, nos. 245–55. On the "barracks," see S. Thomas Parker, "The Later Castellum ('Barracks')," in *Umm el-Jimal: A Frontier Town and Its Landscape in Northern Jordan I, Fieldwork 1972–1981*, ed. Bert de Vries (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1998), 131–42; David Kennedy, *The Roman Army in Jordan*, 2nd ed. (London: Council for British Research in the Levant, 2004), 90–91. For the "Church of the barracks," see Anne Michel, *Les églises d'époque Byzantine et umayyade de la Jordanie* (Turnhout: Brepols 2001), 179–81, no. 44.

52 *PAES* III A. nos. 257–59; Michel, *Églises*, 181–82, no. 45.

53 Virgilio C. Corbo, *Gli scavi di Siyar el-Ghanam (Campo dei Pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1955), 40. The monastery at Siyar el-Ghanam is one of the traditional locations of the Poimenion, Turris Ader or Shepherds' Field near Bethlehem, where the shepherds saw the angels announcing the nativity (Luke 2:8–20). The other is at nearby Beit Saḥur; see Tzaferis, "Shepherds' Field," 1362–63.

54 A marble tablet with this quotation (*CIIP* II, no. 1348), apparently fallen from an upper level, was found in the bathhouse excavated by J. Porath in Caesarea. This perplexed the editors of *CIIP*, for the quotation befits not a bathhouse but rather a church. However, as was shown by J. Patrich, the building is not a public bathhouse but the bathing wing of a private mansion. In this case, the mansion may well have had a private chapel on the upper floor. See above, n. 37.

55 This is the case with Ps 28:3 discussed above, and also 4 [MT 2] Kings 2:21 and Ps 76:11 ("I have made this water wholesome, says the Lord. This is the change from the right hand of the Most High"), which adorn a basin and the opening of a cistern in the atrium of the "cathedral" of Madaba. These verses sound most suitable to a baptistery, but the baptistery of the church is located at some distance, in an annex west of the

atrium: *IGLJ* II, nos. 136–37; Michele Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaic di Madaba* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1989), 9–32.

56 Joseph Patrich and Yoram Tsafrir, "A Byzantine Church Complex at Horvat Beit Loya," in *Ancient Churches Revealed*, ed. Yoram Tsafrir (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 270; *SEG* XXXV, no. 1541.

57 Di Segni, "Northern Church at Shiloh," 213. The same verse in a more complete form ("Come to Him and be enlightened, so your face shall never be ashamed") was also painted on a plastered panel of the ceiling, discovered on the floor of the Church of the Courtyard at Umm er-Rasas (Jordan), near the apse. The mention of light may in this case have been connected to a source of light in the ceiling, since the chapel was enclosed by blind walls, but adjoining it are a room with tombs and a baptistery, and the quotation may have been intended either for a funerary or a baptismal context. Michele Piccirillo, "Le iscrizioni di Kastron Mefaa," in *Umm al-Rasas–Mayfa'ah* I: *Gli scavi del complesso di Santo Stefano*, ed. Michele Piccirillo and Eugenio Alliata (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1994), 263–64, no. 20 (*SEG* XXXVII, no. 1616) and cf. Plan I in front of p. 72.

58 Gregg and Urman, *Jews, Pagans and Christians*, 121, no. 101, cf. Claudine M. Dauphin and Jeremy J. Schonfield, "Settlements of the Roman and Byzantine Periods on the Golan Heights: Preliminary Report on Three Seasons of Survey (1979–1981)," *IEJ* 33 (1983): 197–205. The inscription also bears a date, which was not understood because the first digit, on the left edge of the stone, was lost; but it can be easily restored: [5]70, indiction 1. Na'aran is in central Golan, and the date is certainly given by the era of Caesarea Philippi, starting in autumn 3 BCE (rather than in spring 2 BCE: see discussion in *SEG* LVIII, no. 1703); therefore year 570 corresponds to 567/8, in the first indiction. Felle, *Biblia Epigraphica*, 110–11, no. 159 confused Na'aran in Golan with Na'aran near Jericho and misinterpreted the date.

59 *SEG* LII, no. 1733 (10); LVIII, no. 1775. On the plague in the monasteries of the desert, see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Kyriakos*, 10, in *Kyrillos von Scythopolis*, ed. Eduard Schwartz (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1939), 228–29. Though Cyril speaks of the Judean Desert, the situation cannot have been very dissimilar in the Petra region.

5 Renovation and the early Byzantine church

Staging past and prayer

Ann Marie Yasin

Church buildings offered institutional settings for prayer and worship in late antiquity. This chapter examines them through the lens of time. As scholars we have become increasingly sensitive to examining ancient church buildings not merely as configurations of architectural forms but as sacred spaces that served as stages for communication with the divine through prayer and worship. They provided a spatial setting for both the institutional, collective celebration of the liturgy and for more private devotions. But churches, like all buildings, were rarely static for long. Over time they changed as a result of natural forces and human interventions. Earthquakes, wear and tear, intentional destruction, and changing fashion, fortune, and liturgical needs were all potential forces from which buildings suffered, and communities sometimes, when will and funds allowed, responded by restoring or renovating the material setting for their church rituals. While the physical transformations of churches over time are often studied from the perspective of histories of architectural form or of the rise and fall of religious communities, rarely do we consider the impact that alterations and rebuilding had on the experience of those who used them. This investigation asks how the changing of the "stage," the material structure of the church, affected the messages that the building communicated about prayer and devotion.

I will focus on transformations to the surface of buildings, their "skins." Before turning to that material, however, it is important to remember that church surfaces are but one aspect that could be affected by restorations which could, in turn, alter the shape and experience of prayer and worship in ecclesiastical spaces. There are many kinds of changes that our "stage" (to continue the metaphor) for prayer in early Byzantine churches might endure. We might think of them in terms of what has been dubbed the "layers of longevity" of a building's built components: permanent site, structure (the foundation and load-bearing elements), space plan (the interior layout of partition walls, doors, and built-in features such as altars, chancels, ambos, and masonry benches), the building's surfaces, and its "stuff" (mobile elements such as lamps and wooden benches that were the most easily and readily adapted to new needs and conditions).[1]

Transformation at the structural and space-plan level dramatically affect "actors" by directing their movement and the orientation of their bodies, their attention, and their prayers. For example, the complete reversal of the church at Baalbek by the construction of a new apse on the building's east end and the puncturing of the original western apse with a doorway both modernized the structure

to bring it into conformity with increasingly prevalent norms of eastern orientation and also completely redirected churchgoers' access to the building and the direction of ritual and prayers focused on the altar.[2] Similarly, the creation or alteration of spaces for certain rituals, such as the baptistery added to the north of the choir in the second phase of the quatrefoil church of Seleucia Pieria outside Antioch, created a new dedicated space, degree of monumentality, and elevated visibility for the prayers and rituals surrounding the rite of baptism.[3] Still other architectural changes could be made in order to accommodate the prayers of a changing community of participants. We see this, for example, with the construction of the early Umayyad mosque adjacent to the Church of Holy Cross in Resafa, also known as Basilica A, where the relics of St. Sergios were housed in a martyrium in the northeast sacristy accessible via an annex chamber from the courtyard (Fig. 5.1).

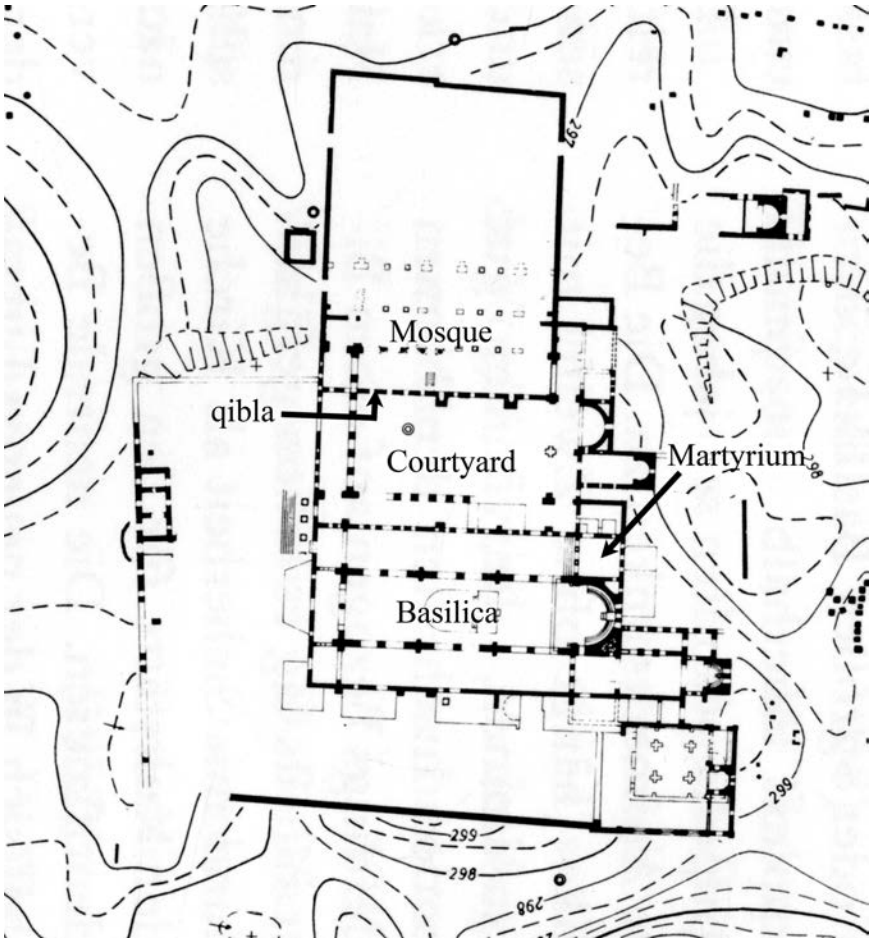

Figure 5.1 Resafa, plan of Early Umayyad Mosque and Church of the Holy Cross (Basilica A) (after Ulbert, *Basilika des Heiligen Kreuzes*, fig. 1, reproduced by permission of T. Ulbert)

As Elizabeth Key Fowden explains, the architectural arrangement of the mosque "suggests an effort to provide Muslims with a place nearby to worship – even to participate in the cult of St. Sergius. . . . [T]he juxtaposition of the public courtyard and the prayer hall at Rusafa suggests that the *qibla* door was designed to facilitate public movement between the mosque and the shrine at the southeast corner of the courtyard."[4]

Alterations such as these, at the structural and spatial level of churches, affected prayer by reorienting worshippers' bodies, their movements, and the direction of their attention. However, the church's skin, that is, the decoration of its surfaces, can provide even more detailed information about the kinds of specific prayers and commemorations shaped and actively voiced by the building itself. In early Byzantine areas of Syria-Palestine, the abundant evidence of inscribed mosaic floors provides a glimpse into how building surfaces could shape churchgoers' devotions across time, and it is on these that the present inquiry focuses. The pavement inscriptions examined here commemorate the donations of church benefactors and in doing so reveal a great deal about shifting economic and social patterns of building patronage in the early Byzantine period.[5] But located as they are on church surfaces, usually in highly visible locations, the records of benefaction offer more than purely economic testimonials.[6] In some particularly elaborate cases from the region, inscriptions literally spell out words of a prayer, invoking the Lord or titular saint directly, requesting aid on the named donor's behalf, and concluding with a reverent "Amen."[7] More commonly in the church donation inscriptions we find stock devotional phrases, such as "for the repose of so and so," or "for the salvation of so and so," which remind us that the epigraphic culture behind such memorials of elite benefaction and prestige articulated their commemorative messages in explicitly devotional terms.[8] Even when they include no overt prayer language, such advertisements of donors' pious acts of church benefaction are cast as devotional appeals by virtue of their visible incorporation into the decorative program of the communal space of worship and prayer. The church building itself and the devotional actions undertaken within both shape and are shaped by the words inscribed on its surfaces. Cases in which archaeological investigation has recovered multiple phases of inscribed dedications thus allow us to evaluate how the topography and rhetoric of commemoration and prayer within individual churches changed over time.

Let us begin with a short tour of a late antique church, not at the moment of its construction, but after it had been used for some time and responded to the needs of multiple generations of users. Imagine that we are visiting the church at Zahrani in southern Lebanon in the mid-sixth century, by which time it had already witnessed and provided a setting for over 150 years of liturgy, prayers, and private devotions (Fig. 5.2).[9] Entering the narthex on the basilica's eastern side in our imaginary visit in the year 550 we are immediately met with a bright, freshly laid mosaic inscription facing us inside the central doorway. Its words underscore its modern appearance by announcing that the pavement of the mosaic had just been completed in 541, in the month of June.[10] Immediately to the right, another, even larger medallion-framed inscription that ends with the very same date, June 541, declares a wish for the salvation (ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας) of a donor

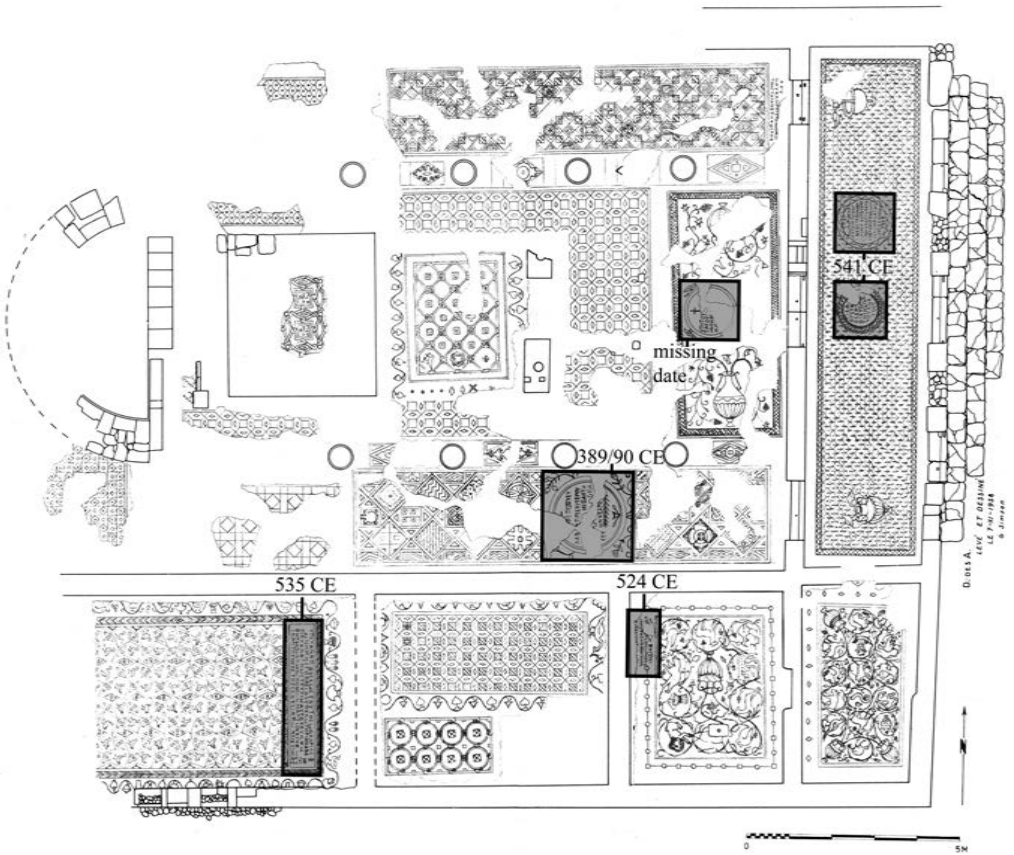

Figure 5.2 Zahrani (Lebanon), plan of Upper Church with dated inscriptions indicated (after Chéhab, *Mosaïques du Liban*, II: plan no. 7, © Ministry of Culture/Directorate General of Antiquities of Lebanon)

named Baracheos and his two sons who had the *ambulatorion* of the church paved with mosaic.[11] Gazing into the basilica through the central doorway we see directly before us a third dated dedicatory inscription. Although the inscription was discovered in a poor state of preservation by excavators in 1950 and its text cannot be fully reconstructed, in a format typical of dedication inscriptions it begins with the mention of the bishop, whose name is lost, and closes with a dating formula.[12] To our mid-sixth-century visitor, both the former bishop's name and the date would have indicated the age of the pavement. It is also very possible that its appearance would have signaled its age too, even to an illiterate viewer, since at the time of the excavation, in contrast to the crisp, modern narthex pavement, this text in the nave showed obvious signs of wear and repairs: in the left third the words are written in round capital letters in black tesserae while on the right they appear in square capitals in grey tesserae.[13]

Likewise, as we continue our tour to the church's left (south) aisle, we encounter another dedication inscription, this time for the mosaic funded by one Kesari(os).[14] Here the preserved date, 389/90, makes its antiquity evident to readers – recall this is more than 150 years older than the inscriptions we read in the narthex – as likely does once again the obvious evidence of ancient repairs.[15] Epigraphic analysis noted not only that the lines of the left portion of the inscription did not quite align with the right and contained several slight differences in lettering (for example in the lambdas and alphas) but also more obviously that a portion of inscription four lines down was replaced with a running meander pattern inserted awkwardly into the middle of the text.[16] As our visit to the church takes us to the annex chambers on the south side of the basilica, we confront yet more tessellated devotions on behalf of the church's benefactors from different construction campaigns. Before one of the thresholds in the second of these rooms a partially preserved dedication inscription commemorating the benefaction of work on the "vestibules and diakoniká" preserves the date of 524.[17] Beyond, a grand inscription in the fourth annex chamber declares that it was laid in 535 "for the repose of" (ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως) one Gottheias and "the salvation of" (ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας) his son Sabarios.[18]

Yet there are also parts of the historic Zahrani church that a visitor in the mid-sixth century would *not* have seen, for they were buried by subsequent renovations. Excavators uncovered two layers of pavement in the third and fourth annex chambers on the church's south side (Fig. 5.3). The lower mosaic layer of the third chamber, which served as a baptistery, carried an inscription commemorating the donation of the pavement under one priest Sallos.[19] In the adjacent chamber were the names of two donors, Genarosa, daughter of Severa, and Sabaris, son of Eulalios.[20] On stylistic grounds Pauline Donceel-Voûte places these pavements in the same period as that of the left aisle whose inscription gives its date of 389/90.[21] No trace of Sallos's text or of that of Genarosa and Sabaris, however, remained visible when these annex chambers were renovated in the first half of the sixth century (Fig. 5.2). The third annex room continued to serve as a baptistery, but its new floor, laid over the pavement with Sallos's text, contained no inscriptions. The simple pattern and bare-bones inscription of the individuals named on the

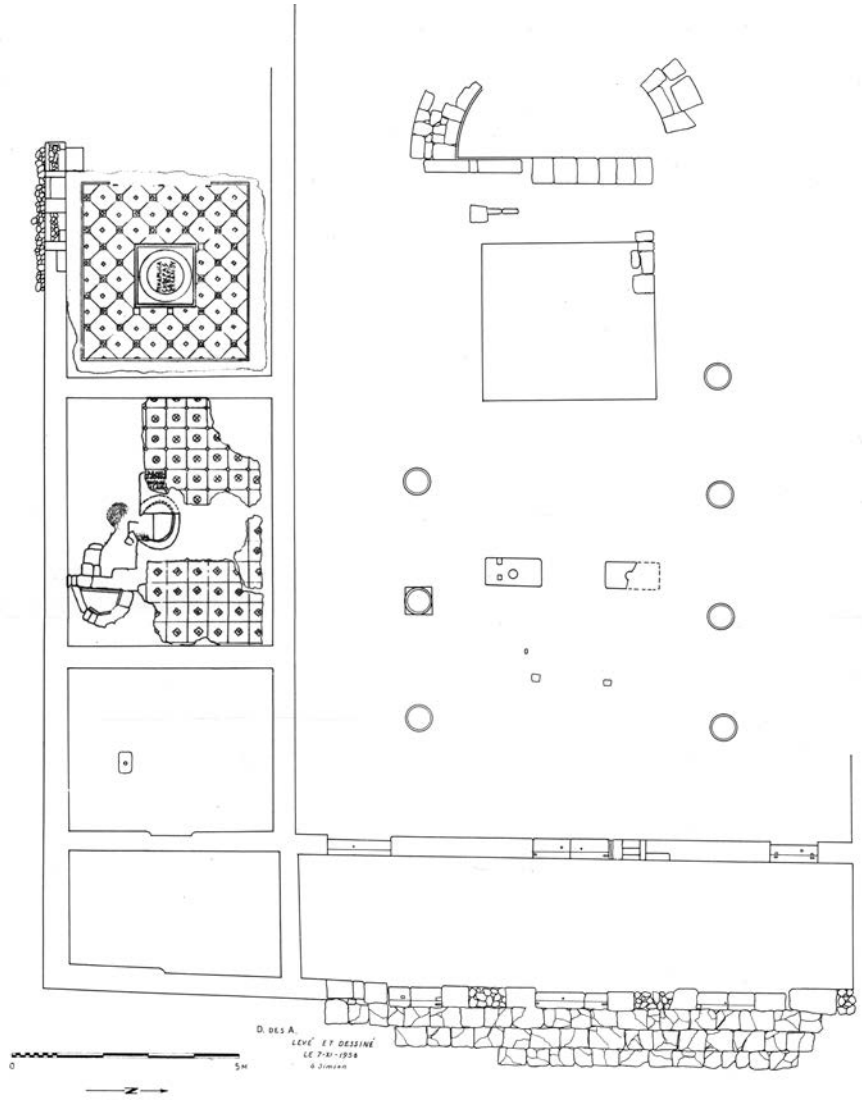

Figure 5.3 Zahrani (Lebanon), plan of Lower Church with mosaic pavements of the third and fourth south-side annex chambers (Chéhab, *Mosaïques du Liban*, II: plan no. 6, © Ministry of Culture/Directorate General of Antiquities of Lebanon)

floor of the fourth annex were rendered invisible when the room was modernized in 535 and outfitted with a text that pronounced prayers for the repose and salvation of its new donors, as described above.

So what does the case of Zahrani's church tell us? From our imagined tour we learn a number of important points: it is first of all a structure that continued

to solicit the kind of benefactions that were commemorated by inscriptions well beyond the occasion of its foundation. These inscriptions spelled out the names and gifts of the donors as well as implicitly or explicitly articulated prayers on their behalf, such as "for the salvation of" or "for the repose of." The appearance and location of the inscriptions demonstrate how these prayers directly appealed to the attention of church visitors, with highly visible letters standing out sharply from the white ground positioned in conspicuous locations such as before thresholds. Second, the structure preserved, indeed there is evidence that in certain cases it willfully *conserved* and renewed through repairs, the memory of past pious deeds for subsequent generations of readers. As we have seen, a visitor to the church in the middle of the sixth century could have read the prayerful commemorations of donors of at least four different construction campaigns. In other words, the renovation of the building displayed explicit, dated traces that spanned one and a half centuries of its history, and this importantly was a history written through commemoration and prayerful appeals for pious generosity channeled into church restoration. Finally, however, it is also clear that the preservation of benefactors' memory and the articulation of devout wishes for them could be more short-lived than the donors may have imagined. Renovations could restore preexisting features, but they could also lead to a loss of visibility when new construction obliterated commemorative texts. Let us now take a closer look with a few more examples of each of these points in turn.

Declaring prayers for renovators

At Zahrani and elsewhere, inscriptions that commemorate the donors of refurbished church spaces establish the act of renovation, like that of new construction, as an impetus for prayers for the individuals responsible. Numerous prayers spelled out in the tesserae of church floors call for divine assistance or for the salvation of patrons who effected building renovations and for their families. For example, at the Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo east of the north end of the Dead Sea in Jordan, a lengthy, five-line inscription from a diakonikon-baptistery complex added to the north side of the courtyard before the preexisting triconch church positions that work in the period of the Bishop Elias in the year 530/31 (Figs. 5.4 and 5.5).[22] The text placed directly before (to the west of) the cruciform baptismal font describes the work not as an initial construction but as "reconstructed and adorned" (ἀνῳκοδομήθη κ(αὶ) ἐκοσμήθη) and carried out "for the salvation of" (ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας) several named donors and their families. The inscription closes with the prayerful "Amen, Lord."

The church at Rayan southeast of Antioch carries three inscriptions in the mosaic carpet before the nave that commemorate the laying (or we should say re-laying) of the pavement.[23] The central medallion locates the work in terms of local time, within the present of the ecclesiastical officeholders: "Under our most pious bishop Alexander and the periodeute Mokimos and the priest Maris and the deacon Zaccheos, and the cantor Iakobos, this mosaic has been made. Ch(rist) B(orn of) M(ary)."[24] The other two explicitly take the form of prayers directed to Christ on behalf of donors and their families who, having made a

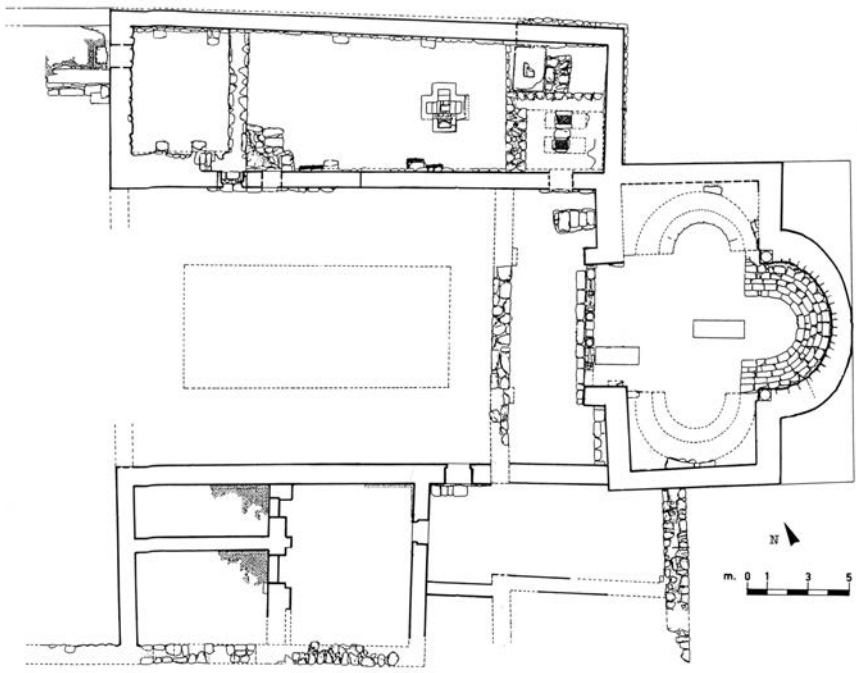

Figure 5.4 Mount Nebo (Jordan), Memorial of Moses, church plan of diakonikon-baptistery on north side of courtyard (after Alliata and Bianchi, "Architectural Phasing," 170, fig. 56, reproduced by permission of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum)

vow, renovated portions of the mosaic pavement. Below the central medallion we read: "+ Lord +, + remember Fl(avios) Libanios, (son) of Leontios and his children, since having fulfilled a vow along with his household he renovated [ἀνενέωσεν] his part of the mosaic, in the year 460 of the month of Hyperberetaios, the 25th day (= 411 CE)"[25] and in the medallion to the left: "Lord, remember Eusebios, (son) of the blessed (deceased) Raphphouseos, and his children since having completed a vow along with his household, he renovated [ἀνενέωσεν] his part of the mosaic."[26]

Similarly, at the church at the small monastery of Khirbat al-Kursi between Amman and the city of Wadi al-Seer, a large commemorative inscription on the pavement set within a *tabula ansata* before the chancel step reads, "Christ, help Anastasios with his wife, Amen. By the grace of the Holy Trinity, this martyrion was renovated and mosaicked at the time of the most pious and most Christ-loving bishop Thomas, by the care and concern of the priests Sommaseos and Theodore, at the time of the first indiction."[27] Like those from Rayan, this inscription both commemorates the work and articulates in very literal terms a prayer for the donors responsible. The work that the texts claim has earned the donors these

Figure 5.5 Mount Nebo (Jordan), Memorial of Moses, excavation photo of diakonikon-baptistery (photo: Alliata and Bianchi, "Architectural Phasing," 169, fig. 53, reproduced by permission of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum)

prayers of the community spelled out on the very surface of the church was one of renovation rather than initial construction.

Accumulating and remembering

As a church was renovated and altered over time, the devotions "spoken" by its surfaces also changed. With the modernization of a structure, some portion of older phases could remain visible, resulting in a building whose postconstruction history not only is in evidence for modern archaeologists to reconstruct but also was on display for its contemporary users. Oftentimes we can but hypothesize about the relative dates of the structure in use and altered over successive generations. In certain cases, however, dating formulae in inscriptions incorporated into church pavements introduce a more concrete picture of the successive phases of the building's history.

Church dedication inscriptions, which regularly name one or more benefactors, call special attention to their historicity when they either include a precise date (for example, the provincial year) or position themselves within a local ecclesiastical timeline by naming the presiding bishop. Rudolph Haensch has tallied over 1,000 inscriptions between the fourth and sixth centuries, on stone and in mosaic, from the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem that were set up to commemorate church construction.[28] According to his study, approximately 3 percent of these, a remarkably high number, include precise dates. In addition, some 120 inscriptions, more than 10 percent of his corpus, include the name of the local bishop.[29]

As scholars, we tend to examine these sources as evidence for the continued use or development of a particular ecclesiastical complex. Studies that consider diachronic change of church buildings use it to illuminate long histories of communities and their changing fortunes. So, for example, Robert Schick's important survey of pavements of Jordanian churches that suffered iconoclastic damage to their mosaic pavements in the eighth century allowed him to map which Christian churches remained in active use and which had been abandoned by the Umayyad and Abbasid periods.[30] Such work values the quality and degree of change in the architectural remains as an index of broader historical institutions and structures. I would stress, however, that evidence of a building's "pastness" also communicated a sense of time and of the history of place *to their original audiences*.

Take, for example, the recently excavated monastery complex at Deir 'Ain 'Abata at the south end of the Dead Sea in Jordan, which incorporated the cave associated with Lot's and his daughters' refuge after their flight from Sodom.[31] The church, which was built into a steep slope on its east (apse end), was accessed via a narthex (only substructures of which survive) that communicated with an oblong chamber to the south identified by the excavator as a *diakonikon* due to the quality of the finds discovered there.[32] The analysis of hundreds of fragments of mosaic pavement from the collapse of the narthex and the so-called *diakonikon* have yielded a partial reconstruction of a dedicatory inscription that specifies a "renewal" (ἀνενεώθη), probably of the mosaic pavement and not the whole church, in the year 572/73 (Figs. 5.6 and 5.7).[33] The basilica church itself communicated directly with the cave by its north aisle, and immediately before the entrance to the cave the church pavement incorporated a four-line inscription in a *tabula ansata* (Figs. 5.6 and 5.8).[34] The inscription names the bishop Jacob and the abbot Sozomenos and gives the date of 605 or 607.[35] In the nave of the church another inscription before the chancel includes the name of the *chorepiskopos* (country bishop) Christophoros along with other officials and includes the date of its laying as 691 or 692, in other words well into the Umayyad period (636–750 CE).[36] It appears therefore that three different phases of construction were commemorated with formal dedicatory inscriptions. Moreover, the repavings were not complete but left certain portions of the earlier floors intact. As far as we can tell, the sixth-century pavement of the entrance room remained in service in the church's early seventh-century phase, and it is certain that by the end of the

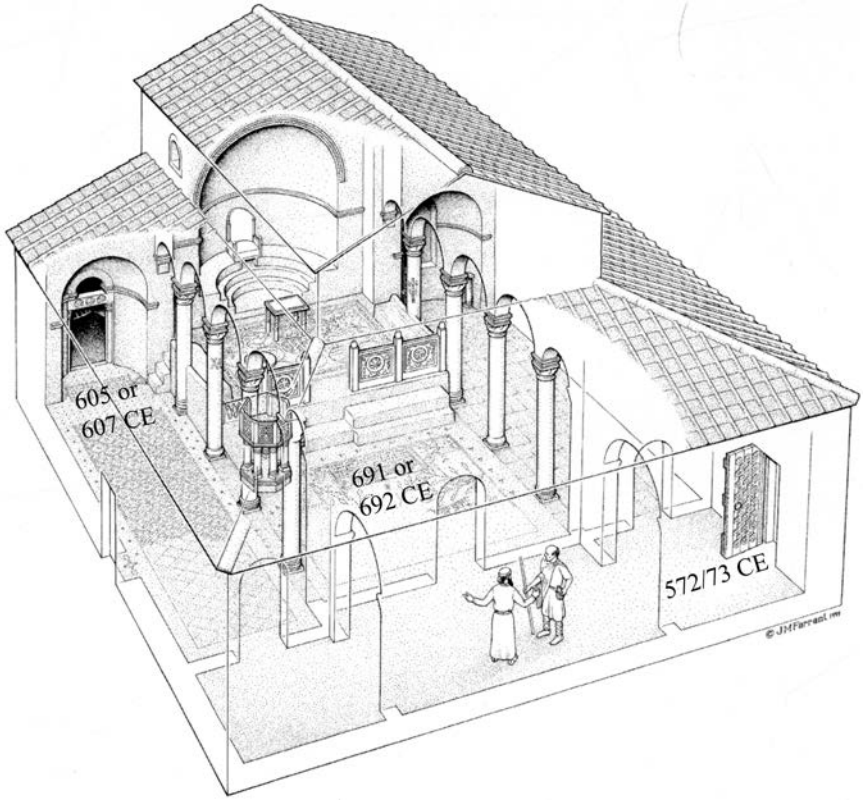

Figure 5.6 Sanctuary of Lot, Deir ʿAin ʿAbata (Jordan), axonometric reconstruction of church with dated inscriptions indicated (after J. M. Farrant in Politis, "Sanctuary of Lot," 362, fig. 10)

seventh century when the nave received a new mosaic floor, the inscription from the north aisle before the cave entrance remained visible and continued to declare events now approximately 85 years distant.

Several other churches present similar evidence of the "chapters" of their renovation history being literally spelled out on their floors. A dedicatory inscription from the eastern part of the nave of the basilica at Nabha in Lebanon, for example, dates the work of the mosaic to 557/58,[37] approximately a century or more before one from the western portion of the nave dated either to 646 (on Pauline Donceel-Voute's reading) or 746, as other scholars have preferred (Fig. 5.9).[38] And we have already encountered the church at Zahrani, where multiple inscriptions attesting to the pious interventions of successive donors were visible simultaneously by the last phases of the church's use, some having been explicitly repaired so as to continue to preserve older benefactors' memory and prayers on their behalf (see Fig. 5.2).

Figure 5.7 Sanctuary of Lot, Deir ʿAin ʿAbata (Jordan), dedicatory inscription from narthex or *diakonikon* of the church (photo: S. Chouveraki in Politis, "Sanctuary of Lot," 371, fig. 22)

Figure 5.8 Sanctuary of Lot, Deir ʿAin ʿAbata (Jordan), aerial view of the church showing mosaic pavements; cave entrance at end of left aisle (north) (photo: Politis, "Sanctuary of Lot," 363, fig. 11a)

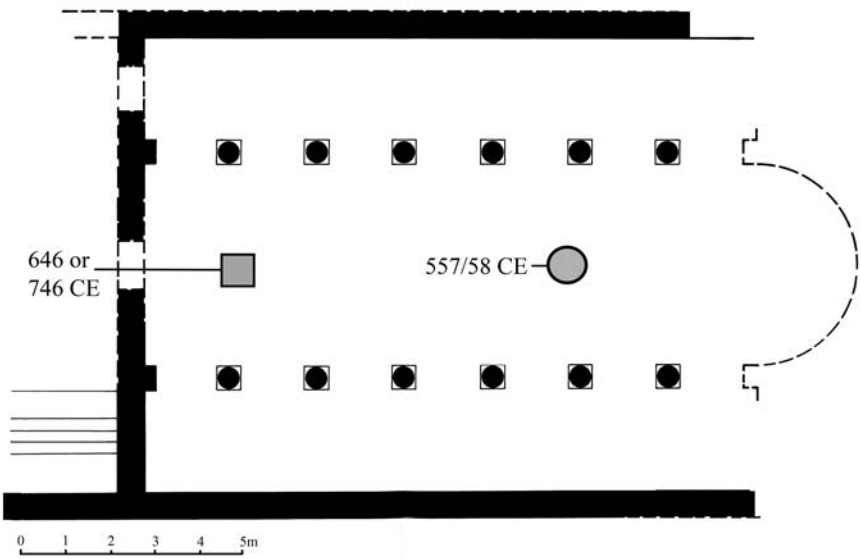

Figure 5.9 Nabha (Lebanon), plan of church with dated inscriptions indicated (based on Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, fold-out plan no. 16)

Modernizing and "forgetting"

Not all memory, however, was preserved. The memorialization of some donors' offerings, and the prayers those records could implicitly or explicitly solicit, were silenced by later renovations to the site. At the church at Zahrani, for example, while numerous inscriptions continued to be visible and therefore "speak" to church-goers even after other subsequent restorations were made, there were at least two texts that were obliterated by later rebuilding, as we have seen (Fig. 5.3).

At the North Church of Esbous (Hesban), two preserved floor levels in the sanctuary also allow us an unusually well-documented window onto two stages of the building's "skin" and the different prayers that it fixed in its mosaic inscriptions. The upper layer of the presbytery pavement pronounced prayers "for the salvation of those who have made offerings" for the restoration of the altar under Deacon John.[39] The pavement beneath also recorded a salvific prayer, but for a different set of individuals: at the foot of the synthronon, "For the salvation of Philadelphos and [his] son,"[40] and in a medallion to the west, "For the blessed memory of Quintianos, the priest and for the salvation of his sons, Amen."[41]

Another noteworthy case can be seen at the small Basilica of Kaianos in the 'Uyun Musa Valley in Jordan where large sections of two layers of mosaic floor paving have been preserved, each with numerous commemorative inscriptions (Figs. 5.10–12). The lower, older pavement includes the name of the bishop Cyrus, who held office before 530,[42] providing a *terminus post quem* for the church's upper pavement, which the excavators have suggested was laid in the second half of the century.[43] Though only portions of the pavement of the sanctuary and nave from the lower church survive, they preserve the names of some eleven individuals (including the bishop) in six distinct inscriptions (Fig. 5.11). A greater proportion of the upper pavement was recovered, including several intercolumnar spaces and portions of the side aisles. The surviving portion of this later pavement preserves the names of twelve or thirteen individuals in six inscriptions (Fig. 5.12).[44] Looking at the roster of donors remembered by inscriptions in the two phases of the church we notice some similarities: four of the names from the first pavement are repeated on the second, including a certain John, Salaman, Fidos, and Kasiseos (Table 5.1).[45] As Leah Di Segni has pointed out, these are each common names in the area, and she suggests it is unlikely that the same individuals were in this case commemorated across the two quite distant phases of the church's history. While this is likely correct, it nevertheless remains possible, given evidence for recopying of earlier inscriptions as part of restoration work in other parts of the late antique Mediterranean.[46] There are also certain perhaps significant parallels in the privileged position of these individuals in the two floor levels of our Basilica of Kaianos: two of the three figures named in the Greek inscription adorning the sanctuary of the lower level church reappear in the upper pavement – John and Kasiseos (though John is spelled differently) – and the only two named figural representations from the upper pavement (Fidos and John) are among the four repeated names from both levels. Still, even if one or more of the

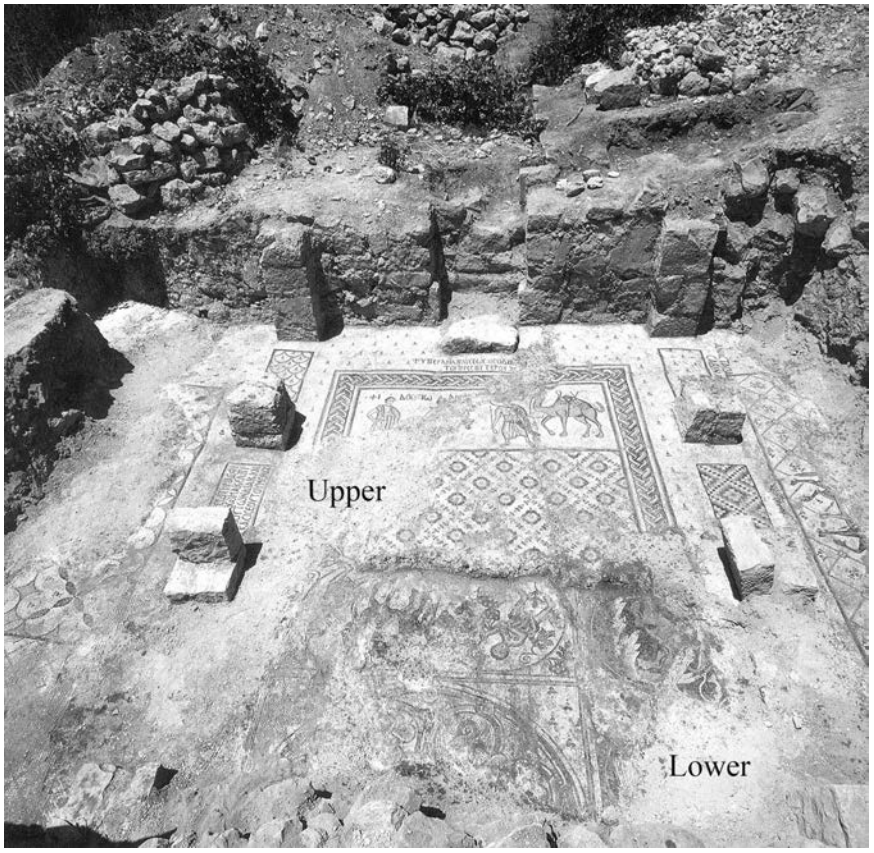

Figure 5.10 'Uyun Musa Valley (Jordan), Basilica of Kaianos, photo of two superimposed layers of church pavements, looking west (photo after: Piccirillo, "New Churches," 356, fig. 220, reproduced by permission of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum)

names repeated in the two floor levels was intended to perpetuate the memory of a benefactor of the early church, the majority of donors to the original church appear not to have been so lucky. No mention of Rabebos, for instance, the first individual named in the original sanctuary inscription, is found in the surviving portions of the later sixth-century layer. Though we need to be cautious of arguments from silence, especially as we lack large portions of the upper pavement, it is most likely that the names and record of benefactions for most if not all of those commemorated by inscriptions in the church's first floor were buried and rendered invisible by the renovation of the pavement.

A similar fate befell the prayers for the restorers of the baptistery at the Memorial of Moses that we encountered earlier (Figs. 5.4 and 5.5). Here the whole

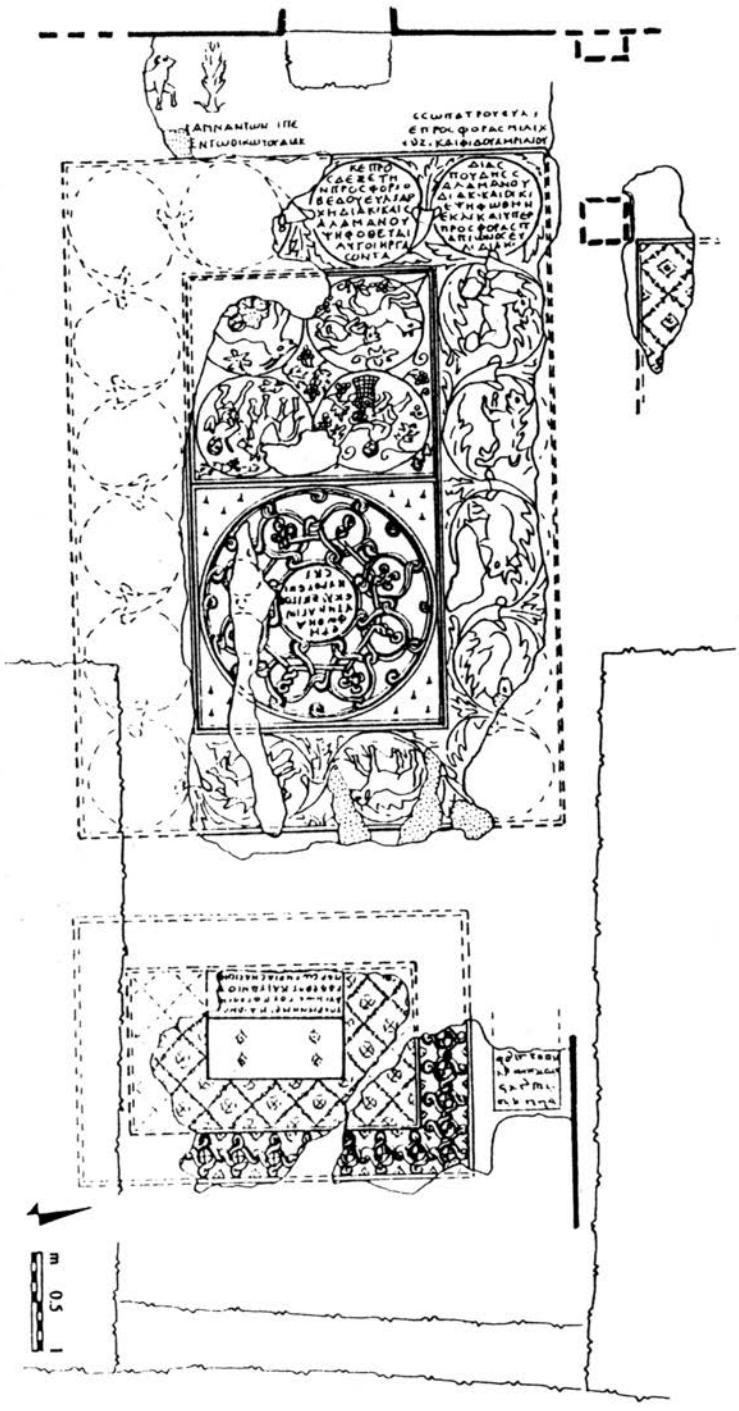

Figure 5.11 'Uyun Musa Valley (Jordan), Basilica of Kaianos, plan of Lower Church (Piccirillo, "New Churches," 313, fig. 101, reproduced by permission of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum)

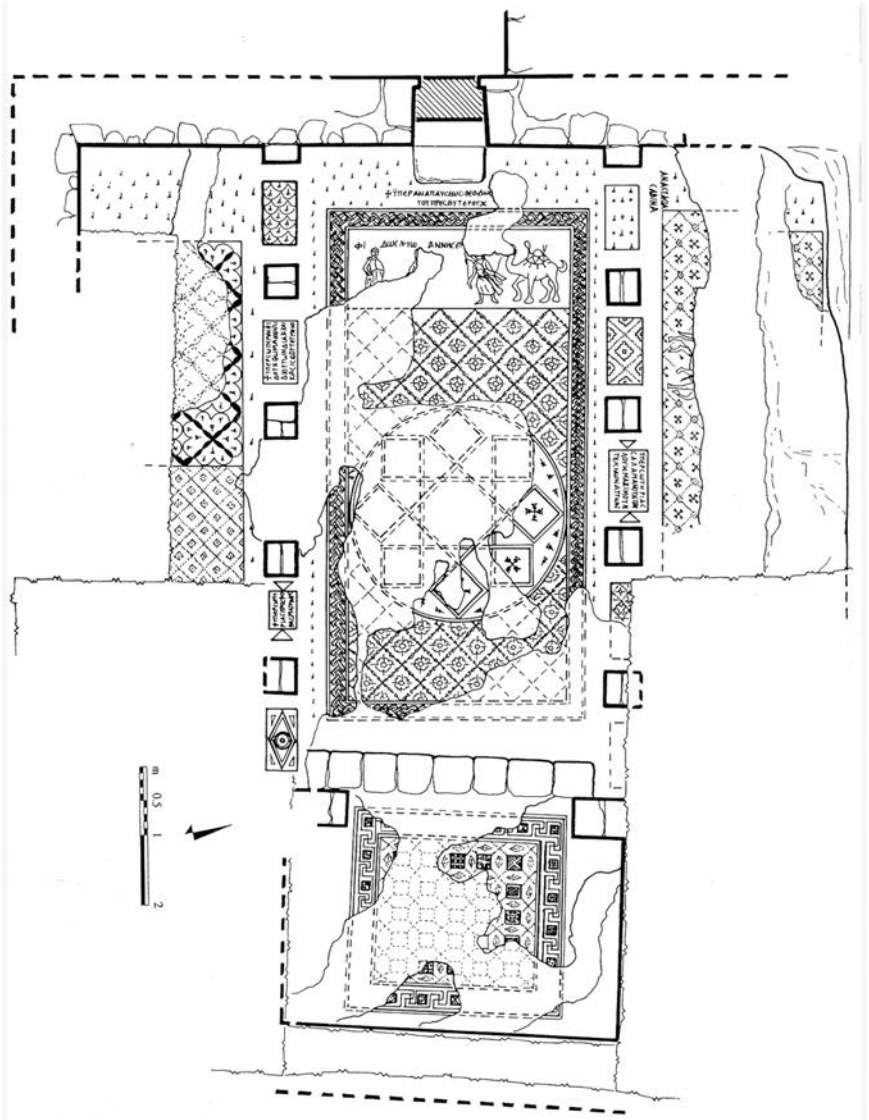

Figure 5.12 'Uyun Musa Valley (Jordan), Basilica of Kaianos, plan of Upper Church (Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 191, fig. 278. Courtesy of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, Mt. Nebo, and the ACOR, Amman)

baptistery was converted to some other ecclesiastical use and covered over by a new chamber that had an anepigraphic pavement and lacked a font. Baptisms were now performed in a new baptistery built at the very end of the sixth century against the south side of the church structure (Figs. 5.13 and 5.14). The font of the new baptistery was flanked left and right by an inscription written across two

Table 5.1 Location of inscribed names on the superimposed pavements of the Basilica of Kaianos in the ʻUyun Musa Valley (Jordan), with repeated names indicated in bold

Lower church benefactor inscriptions:	
– presbytery:	Rabebos
	John
	Kasiseos
– presbytery:	GY'N (Gaiano) [Palestino-Aramaic]
– nave:	dating to Bishop Cyrus
– W end nave:	Obed, archdeacon
	Salaman
– W end nave:	**Salaman**, deacon
	Papion, deacon
– W end nave:	Milich/Milichios, monk(?)
	Fidos (son) of Amrilios
Upper church benefactor inscriptions:	
– entrance:	Theodore, priest
– entrance, figures:	**Fidos**
	John
– SW corner:	Anastasia
	Sabina
– 3rd intercol. N aisle:	**Salaman**
	Paul
	Maximos
– 2nd intercol. S aisle:	Matrona
– 4th intercol. S aisle:	**Fidos**, deacon
	Thomas, deacon
	Elpidios, deacon
	Kasiseos, monk

medallions in the mosaic pavement. The text begins on the left commemorating the completion of the construction of the church and baptistery with Christ's aid and continues on the right specifying that the work was carried out under the bishop Sergios in the year 597.[47] The construction of the new baptistery at the Memorial of Moses at the end of the sixth century thus relocated and transformed the spatial setting for the performance of the ritual. Changing routes of access and spatial relations to the other ecclesiastical spaces would have transformed the "staging" of the ritual, reorientated the movements of the participants, and directed their attention to the pious deeds of their current bishop. The prayers for the salvation of the donors of the early sixth-century baptistery on the north side of the complex, however, were silenced, no longer read or uttered as they lay invisible beneath the chamber built atop them whose mosaic floor bore no evidence of their existence.[48]

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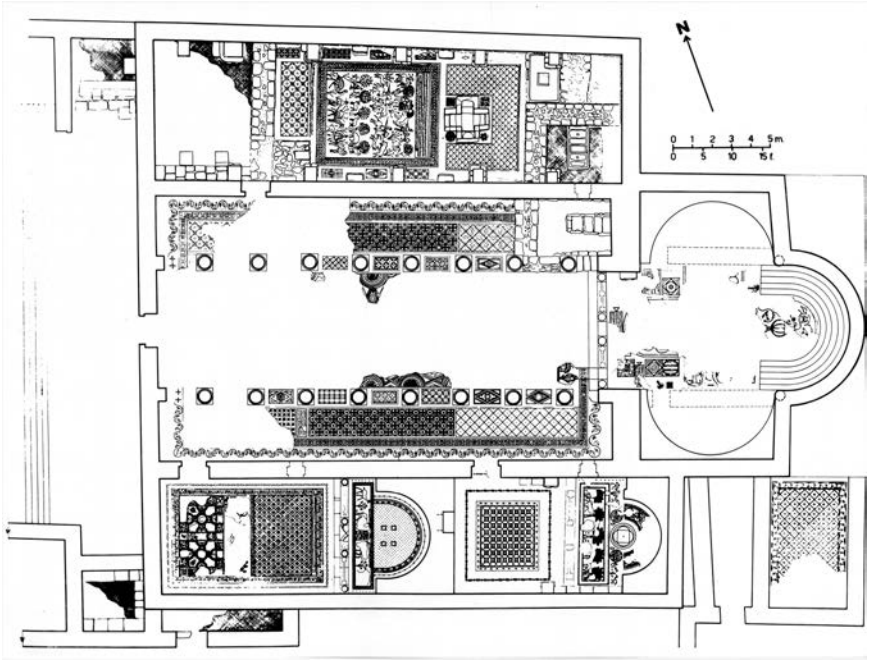

Figure 5.13 Mount Nebo (Jordan), Memorial of Moses, late phase plan with south baptistery showing mosaics (Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 149, fig. 193. Courtesy of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, Mt. Nebo, and the ACOR, Amman)

Figure 5.14 Mount Nebo (Jordan), Memorial of Moses, photo of south baptistery (photo: Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 150, fig. 197. Courtesy of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, Mt. Nebo, and the ACOR, Amman)

Renovations to a church could intentionally preserve earlier chapters of the building's history and with them perpetuate commemoration and prayers for the buildings' earliest donors. When older commemorations were left visible, they continued to solicit prayers on behalf of those named. In some instances, as we saw at Zahrani, it is even clear that significant care went into the preservation of memory of certain individuals whose names and record of donations were overtly repaired. However, it is also evident that such acts of preservation were highly selective. More commonly, restorations rendered invisible earlier commemorative inscriptions and therefore resulted in the "forgetting" of individuals whose names the building's surfaces once proudly declared. In other words, as church buildings changed over time, they shaped the way local communities both understood their own history and directed their prayers.

Notes

I am extremely grateful to Derek Krueger and Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony for the opportunity to develop this work in the context of the "Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 5th–11th Centuries" Conference (Hebrew University, June 2014) and to the other conference participants for their collegial discussion and insightful comments. Special thanks too to Danny Richter and the anonymous reviewer for their helpful and constructive feedback.

1 Adapted from the schema outlined by Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built* (New York: Penguin, 1994), 12–13 and Francis Duffy, "Measuring Building Performance," *Facilities* (May 1990): 17.

2 The first phase is thought to date to the sixth century, the second to the later sixth or perhaps the early Islamic period: Pauline Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban* (Louvain-la-neuve: Département d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, 1988), 333–35. On North African parallels for reoriented basilicas, see Ann Marie Yasin, "Beyond Spolia: Architectural Memory and Adaptation in the Churches of Late Antique North Africa," in *North Africa under Byzantium and Early Islam, 500–800*, ed. J. Conant and S. Stevens (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2016), 215–36.

3 The baptistery is thought to date to reconstruction following the earthquake of May 526: Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, *The Churches of Syrian Antioch (300–638 CE)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 59–61.

4 Elizabeth Key Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 179–81. See also Mattia Guidetti, "The Contiguity between Churches and Mosques in Early Islamic Bilad al-Sham," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76:2 (2013): 229–58; Dorothée Sack, *Resafa IV: Die große Moschee von Resafa Rusafat Hišam* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1996); and Thilo Ulbert, *Resafa II: Die Basilika des Heiligen Kreuzes in Resafa-Sergiupolis* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1986).

5 Rudolf Haensch, "Le financement de la construction des églises pendant l'antiquité tardive et l'évergétisme antique," *Antiquité Tardive* 14 (2006): 47–58; Peter Baumann, *Spätantike Stifter im Heiligen Land: Darstellungen und Inschriften auf Bodenmosaiken in Kirchen, Synagogen und Privathäusern* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1999); Jean-Pierre Caillet, "Les dédicaces privées de pavements de mosaïque à la fin de l'Antiquité," in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Âge*, ed. X. Barral i Altet (Paris: Picard, 1987), 2: 15–38; Evelyne Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté social à Byzance 4e–7e siècles* (Paris: Mouton, 1977).

6 Ann Marie Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), chap. 3, "Topographies of Honor and Piety: Praying for the Christian Benefactor," 101–50.

7 For example, the verbose nineteen-line text from the Church of John the Baptist at Oum Hartaïne, Syria and a suite of mosaics from the Upper Church at Massuh, Jordon (Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces*, 143–48).

8 On the long history of "hyper soterias" and related formulae, see especially Jason Moralee, *"For Salvation's Sake": Provincial Loyalty, Personal Religion, and Epigraphic Production in the Roman and Late Antique Near East* (New York: Routledge, 2004), esp. 69–93; Baumann, *Spätantike Stifter*; and Janette Witt, *"Hyper euches": In Erfüllung eines Gelübdes: Untersuchungen zum Votivwesen in frühbyzantinischen Zeit* (Diss. phil., Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2006), esp. 59–73, 187–90; Caillet, "Dédicaces," 31; Patlagean, *Pauvreté*, 198; Haensch, "Financement de la construction," 55–6.

9 The primary publication on the church, discovered in the course of pipeline work in 1950, is Maurice H. Chéhab, *Mosaïques du Liban*, 2 vols., Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth 14–15 (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1957), I: 81–99 and II: pl. 36–58, plan nos. 5–7, with the chapter on the inscriptions: R. P. Mouterde, "Inscriptions de la basilique chrétienne du Nahr Zahrani près Saïda," in *Mosaïques du Liban*, I, ed. Maurice H. Chéhab (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1957), 100–06. See also the summary in Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 424–39.

10 *SEG* 40: 1788: Ἐτελιώ|θη ἡ ψέ[φω]|σις ἐν μ[η(νὶ) Ἰου]|νίου πρώ‖τη ἰνδικ(τιῶνος) δ´ | τοῦ ανχ´ ἔ|τους. "The paving of the mosaic was completed the first of the month of June, the year 651, 4th of the indiction (= 541 CE)." Cf. Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 425 and Mouterde, "Inscriptions de la basilique," 100, no. 1. The date appearing on the mosaic, 651, needs to be read as referring to the era of Sidon, which begins in 111–110 BCE and therefore corresponds to 540/1 CE by our reckoning (Mouterde, "Inscriptions de la basilique," 100; Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 425). On Byzantine dating systems, including local eras such as that of Sidon, see Venance Grumel, *La chronologie* (*Traité d'études byzantines*, 1) (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1958), 207–26, esp. 216–17.

11 *SEG* 40: 1789: Ὑπὲρ | σωτηρίας Βα|ραχέου ὑποδιακ(όνου) | (καὶ) Νεεστάβου (καὶ) Βα⟨ρ⟩αl|χέου υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐψε|φώθη τὸ ἀμβλατού|ριον τῆς ἁγία⟨ς⟩ ἐκλη|σίας μη(νὶ) Ἰουνίου α´ἰν|δικ(τιῶνος) δ´ τοῦ ανχ´ ‖ ἔτους. "For the salvation of Baracheos the subdeacon, and of Neestaros and of Baracheos his sons, the *ambulatorium* of the holy church was paved with mosaic, the first of June of the year 651, 4th of the indiction (= 541 CE)." Cf. Mouterde, "Inscriptions de la basilique," 100, no. 2, and Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 425–26.

12 *SEG* 40: 1790: † | Ἐπὶ τοῦ [θεοφιλεσ]τάτου ἐπι[σκόπου] | ἡμῶν Α[- - -] ‖ καὶ Τ.[- - -]ναρίου | [καὶ - - - Δ]αμιανοῦ | [- - - εὐ]λαβεστάτου | [- - - μη(νὶ) Δύστ]ρου α´ | [ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) . . το]ῦ ‖ [. . . ἔτους]. "Under our most god-beloved bishop A . . . and T . . . (and) Damianos (and) the most pious . . . the first of Dystros . . ." Cf. Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 426 and Mouterde, "Inscriptions de la basilique," 103, no. 4; Chéhab, *Mosaïques du Liban*, 91–2.

13 The repairs are clearly visible in Chéhab, *Mosaïques du Liban*, II: pl. LVI.1, albeit reproduced there in black-and-white. Pauline Donceel-Voûte notes that, despite the contrasting paleography and slightly mismatched coloration, the repairs, possibly required after an earthquake or simply due to wear here directly in front of the threshold, were carefully executed and the restorers took care to transcribe original names and titles of those commemorated (*Pavements des églises*, 426).

14 *SEG* 40: 1792: [Ἔτους] φ´ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐ|λαβε[στάτο]υ πρεσβυτέρου | Ἄβυλ[α - - - ἐ]-ψηφολογή|[θη καὶ ἐτελιώθη] τὸ πᾶ‖[ν ἔργ]ων· Κεσάρι[ος ἐποίη]|σεν [palm]. "In the year 500, under the most pious priest Abyl(as?) the whole building was paved with

mosaic and completed. Kesarios made it. (= 389–90 CE).” Cf. Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 429 (with commentary); see also Mouterde, “Inscriptions de la basilique,” 104, no. 4.

15 Though there is a gap at the beginning of the inscription, a significant expanse of white tesserae to the left of the φ´ character confirms that no digits preceded it and that the date of 500 (in the era of Sidon, which corresponds to 389/90 CE) can be considered secure (Mouterde, “Inscriptions de la basilique,” 100; Chéhab, *Mosaïques* I: 94 and visible in photo II: pl. LVII.1). Though, as with the medallion inscription in the nave (see above, nn. 12–13), we cannot be certain that the repairs were carried out before the laying of the inscriptions of the narthex (and therefore visible to our hypothetical mid-sixth-century visitor), they were undoubtedly executed before the church fell out of use and therefore visible to visitors in its final phase.

16 Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 429 and esp. n. 21; Mouterde, “Inscriptions de la basilique,” 104, no. 6. Another inscription just inside the threshold of the right side aisle was also patched in its first line, though here the damaged letters were replaced only with white tesserae: *SEG* 40: 1791: † Κύ[ριε, + - - - οἱ] |ναύκληροι εὐξάμενοι | τὴν σταυὰν ἐψήφωσαν †. “Lord . . ., the shipmasters having fulfilled a vow mosaicked the portico.” Cf. Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 426–27 (with commentary). Based on style, Donceel-Voûte considers this portion of the pavement contemporary with that of the left side aisle, which bears the late fourth-century inscription (Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 426–27, 436), and Mouterde suggests similar dating on paleographic grounds (“Inscriptions de la basilique,” 103, no. 5).

17 *SEG* 40: 1793: . ΛΟΙΣ [. . .]. προεισόδια | τῶν διακονικῶν κ´ μηνὶ | Ἰουλίῳ τοῦ ἔτου[ς] λδχ´ | ἰνδικ(τιῶνος) β´. “. . . the vestibules of the diakonikά. The 20th of the month of July of the year 634, 2nd of the indiction (= 524 CE).” Cf. Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 431–32, 436. See also Mouterde, “Inscriptions de la basilique,” 104–5, no. 7 and Chéhab, *Mosaïques*, I: 95–96.

18 The mosaicist and his son are also named at the end of the inscription. *SEG* 40: 1796: Ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας | μνήμης Γοθθεία (καὶ) ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Σαβα|ρίου ἀναγνώστου υἱῷ αὐτοῦ ἐψηφώ|θη τὸ διακωνικὸν ἐν μη(νὶ) Μαρτίου κ´ ‖ἰνδικ(τιῶνος) γι´ τοῦ μεχ´ ἔτους· Σουσία (καὶ) Λεωντίου υἱῷ αὐ|τοῦ | ψηφωθη(τῶν). “For the repose of Gottheias of blessed memory (and) for the salvation of Sabarios the reader, his son, the diakonikon was paved with mosaics. The 20th of the month of March, in the year 645, 13th of the indiction (=535 CE). Sousias and Leontios his son having laid the mosaic. [monogram].” Cf. Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 434–35; see also Mouterde, “Inscriptions de la basilique,” 105–06, no. 10. The *SEG* entry also notes that in ll. 5–7, “the words Σουσία (καὶ) Λεωντίου υἱῷ were added and completed with ψηφωθη(τῶν) or ψηφωθή(του) in a space initially left uninscribed under the monogram; subsequently αὐ|τοῦ, which had been forgotten after υἱῷ, was added in small irregular letters.”

19 *SEG* 40: 1794: Ἠπὶ το[ῦ εὐλαβ(εστάτου) ?] | ἡμῶν πρ[εσβυτέρου] | Σαλλως [οἱ καρ]|ποφορέ[σαντες] ‖ τὴν ψέφ[ωσιν]. “Under our . . . priest Sallos those who made the offering of the mosaic.” Cf. Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 432–33 (with commentary); see also Mouterde, “Inscriptions de la basilique,” 105, no. 8. On the two phases of preserved fonts in this room, see Chéhab, *Mosaïques*, 84–85, 88, 96–97.

20 *SEG* 40: 1795: Γενάρωσα | Σηβέρας | Σαβάρις | Εὐλαλίου. Cf. Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 433–34 and Mouterde,” Inscriptions de la basilique,” 105, no. 9.

21 Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 436.

22 *SEG* 27: 1019: Χάριτι θείᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ τὰ πάντα θεοφιλεστ(άτου) πατρὸς ἡμῶν κ(αὶ) ποιμένος Ἠλίου ἐπισκ(όπου) ἀνῳκοδομήθη ΔΗ κ(αὶ) ἐκοσμή|θη τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ διακον(ι)κὸν μετὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἁγίας κολυμβέθρας τῆς παλι<ν>γενεσίας κ(αὶ) τοῦ χαριεστάτου κη|βωρίου σπουδῇ Ἠλίου ἡγουμένου κ(αὶ) πρε(σβυτέρου), ἐν ὑπατίᾳ Φλλ. (= Φλαβίων) Λαμπαδίου κ(αὶ) Ὀρέστου τῶν λαμπρ(ο)τ(άτων) μη(νὶ) Ἀγουστῳ | χρόνων θ´ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), τοῦ ἔτους υκε´ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Μουσηλίου

σχ(ολαστικοῦ) κ(αὶ) Σεργοῦς γαμετῆς ὑπὲρ | σωτηρίας Φιλαδέλφου σχ(ολαστικοῦ) κ(αὶ) Γοθυ σχ(θλαστικοῦ) κ(αὶ) πάντων τῶν αὐτοῖς δι(α)φερόντων. Ἀμὲν Κ(ύ)ριε. "By divine grace, in the days of our wholly God-beloved father and shepherd, Elias the bishop, the sacred diakonikon of God was reconstructed and adorned, with in it the holy pool of rebirth and the beautiful ciborium, through the efforts of Elias, hegumen and priest, during the consulate of the clarissimi Flavius Lampadius and Flavius Orestes, in the time of the 9th indiction, in the month of August of the year 425 of the province. For the preservation of Muselios the advocate and of Sergo (his) wife, and for the preservation of Philadelphos the advocate and of Gothus the advocate and of all the members of their households. Amen, Lord." Translation after Leah Di Segni (who omits the last two words included in her transcription of the Greek) "The Greek Inscriptions," in *Mount Nebo: New Archaeological Excavations, 1967–97*, ed. Michele Piccirillo and Eugenio Alliata (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1998), 429–30 (with commentary). On the site, see Eugenio Alliata and Susanna Bianchi, "The Architectural Phasing of the Memorial of Moses," in *Mount Nebo: New Archaeological Excavations, 1967–97*, ed. Michele Piccirillo and Eugenio Alliata (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1998), 151–91; Michele Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan* (Amman: American Center of Oriental Research, 1993), 146; Anne Michel, *Les églises d'époque byzantine et umayyade de la Jordanie, Ve–VIIe siècle: Typologie architecturale et aménagements liturgiques* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 335–36.

23 Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 261–67; Georges Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord: Le massif du Bélus a l'époque romaine* (Paris: Geuthner, 1959), 3:36–39 and 61, fig. 23. The church was not excavated nor its walls or phases studied at the time of its discovery in 1950; the provisional plan of the church is reconstructed on the basis of the surviving mosaics, which were lifted and transported to the National Museum in Damascus in the same year that they were discovered.

24 *SEG* 20: 377: Ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλα|βεστάτου ἐπεισκό|που ἡμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου | κὲ Μοκίμου περιοδευτοῦ | κὲ Μαρι πρεσβυτέρου κὲ | Ζακχέου διακόνου καὶ Εἰ|ακ[ώβ]ου ψάλτου ἐψηφώθ[η] | Χ(ριστὸς) Μ(αρίας) Γ(όνος). Cf. Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 262 (with commentary and photo), with name Isakios corrected here to Iakobos as per *SEG* 20: 377 and *SEG* 40: 1746. The published edition in the *SEG* reconstructs the letters ΧΜΓ at the end of the inscription as indicated (and translated) above, but they might also be the number 643, the psephos of Theos boethos, an apotropaic device. I thank an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

25 *SEG* 20: 379 and *SEG* 40: 1748: + Κύριε, + | + μνήσθητι Φλ.Λιβα|νίου τοῦ Λεοντίου | κὲ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ, ὅτι | εὐξάμενος ἅμα τοῦ οἴκου | αὐτοῦ ἀνενέωσεν τὸ μέρο|ς αὐτοῦ τῆς ψηφώσεως, ἔτους | ξυ΄, ἐν μηνὶ Ὑπερβερετέ|+ ου εκ΄. Cf. Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 263 (with commentary and photo). See ibid., n. 16 on whether the date is perhaps 417 CE rather than 411 CE, but *SEG* 40: 1748 confirms Donceel-Voute's reading of the year as 411 CE by the Cesarean era of Antioch. For the purposes of the present study the difference is negligible.

26 *SEG* 20: 378: Κύριε, | μνήσθητι Εὐ|σεβίου τοῦ Ῥαφφουσεο|υ τοῦ μακαρίτου κὲ τῶν τέ|κνων αὐτοῦ, ὅτι εὐξάμενο|ς ἅμα τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ | ἀνενέωσεν τὸ μέρο|ς αὐτοῦ τῆς ψηφ|ώσεως. Cf. Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 262–63 (with commentary) as per *SEG* 40: 1747. An additional, fragmentary mosaic inscription in the first preserved intercolumnation of the north colonnade rather straightforwardly commemorates the work of mosaic made possible by one Akylinos (Aquilinus) in the year 472 CE (Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 264; *SEG* 20: 380 and *SEG* 40: 1749). Donceel-Voûte suggests that based on the style of the surviving mosaics, the two eastern panels of the nave as well as the south aisle belong to the 411 phase (Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 266).

27 *SEG* 38: 1660: †Χ(ριστ)έ, βο[ήθι] Ἀναστα[σίου] μετὰ τῆς γυνευός· Ἀμήν. | †Χάριτι τῖς [Ἁγί]ας Τριάδ(ος) ἀ[νενεώθη] κ(αὶ) ἐψεφώθι τὸ μαρτύριο(ν) | τοῦτω ἐπ[ὶ τοῦ]

ὡσ[ιω]τάτω [κ(αὶ) φιλο]χρίστου [Θω]μᾶ ἐπισκώ(που) | σπο(υ)δῆς κ(αὶ) [ἐπιμελείᾳ κ(αὶ) - -]τα τῶν π[ρεσ]β(υτέρων) Ⳟ[ο]μμᾳⳞ|ου κ(αὶ) Θεωδό[ρου] - -ου. Χρόνον πρότ[ης ἰ]νδ(ικτίονος) [† ?]. Translation after Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 265. On the framing device of the *tabula ansata*, especially popular for mosaic dedicatory inscriptions, see Sean V. Leatherbury, "Writing, Reading, and Seeing between the Lines: Framing Late Antique Inscriptions as Texts and Images," in *The Frame in Greek and Roman Art: A Cultural History*, ed. Michael Squire and Varity Platt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

28 Haensch, "Financement de la construction," 49.

29 Haensch, "Financement de la construction," 54. Cf. Basema Hamarneh, "Geography of Devotion in Byzantine Arabia and Palestina: The Epigraphic Evidence," in *Knowledge and Wisdom: Archaeological and Historical Essays in Honour of Leah Di Segni*, ed. Giovanni Claudio Bottini, Leslaw Daniel Chrupcala, and Joseph Patrich (Milan: Ed. Terra Santa, 2014), 121–36, esp. 124.

30 Robert Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: A Historical and Archaeological Study* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995), esp. 112–38; Robert Schick, "Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine: Palestine in the Early Islamic Period: Luxuriant Legacy," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 61:2 (1998): 74–108.

31 The analysis and conclusions of the final excavation report (Konstantinos D. Politis, ed., *Sanctuary of Lot at Deir 'Ain 'Abata in Jordan: Excavations 1988–2003* [Amman: Jordan Distribution Agency, 2012]) are summarized in Konstantinos D. Politis, "The Sanctuary of Lot at Deir 'Ain 'Abata in Jordan," in *Christ is Here! Studies in Biblical and Christian Archaeology in Memory of Michele Piccirillo, OFM*, ed. L. Daniel Chrupcala (Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2012), 355–79.

32 The so-called *diakonikon*, the finds from which included "silver jewelry, fine garments, basketry, leather objects and an inscribed parchment fragment," is described in Konstantinos D. Politis, "The Late Antique Period (Early Byzantine – Umayyad – Early Abbasid): Stratigraphy and Chronology," in *Sanctuary of Lot*, ed. Konstantinos D. Politis, 119–22. In this portion of the report, the excavator calls the door at the southern end of the narthex, "the main entrance to the church" (Politis, "The Late Antique Period," 122 and caption to fig. 194), and indeed the surviving fragments of the wooden door panel and inscribed lintel point to an impressive portal (Politis, "The Late Antique Period," 123; Konstantinos D. Politis, "The Carved Wood and Carpentry," in *Sanctuary of Lot*, ed. Konstantinos D. Politis, 371–74; Konstantinos D. Politis, "Architectural Fragments," in *Sanctuary of Lot*, ed. Konstantinos D. Politis, 159–68, lintel G4; Yiannis E. Meimaris and Kalliope I. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, "The Greek Inscriptions," in *Sanctuary of Lot*, ed. Konstantinos D. Politis, 411, inscr. nos. 10 and 11). In the church's early phase there was also a doorway, later blocked up, into the north (left) aisle from the presumed pilgrims' accommodation area to the north. David L. Chatford Clark considers this northern door the "entrance of choice" in the church's pre-691 CE phase ("Monastic Space and Place: An Application of Space Syntax Analysis to the Monastery," in *Sanctuary of Lot*, ed. Konstantinos D. Politis, 170), but his analysis doesn't appear to take adequate account of the utilitarian nature and evolution of the food preparation chambers (Area K.II) directly connected to the north side aisle, the stratigraphic report on which concludes: "After the pavement of the AD 605/7 mosaic in the north aisle of the church some rooms were remodeled and were subsequently filled in with natural accumulation and midden deposits as well as some deliberate dumping" (Politis, "Late Antique Period," 152).

33 +Ἐπὶ τοῦ | ἁγιωτάτῳ | Πέτρο[υ] ἐπισκ(όπου) | κ(αὶ) Ε[ὐ]ζοΐου ἐγομένου | καὶ Ἰωάννου | ἐπιτ[ρ]όπου κ(αὶ) Γεοργί(ου) | οἰκωνόμο[υ], ἔτι υξζ' | ἀνενεόθη, τ[ῇ σπου]δ[ῇ] | Ἰωάνν(ου), Θεοδόρ(ου), | Ἰωάνν(ου), μον(αχῶν). | + Κοσμᾶς ψεφωθ(έτης). "In the time of the most holy bishop Petros and of the hegumen Euzoios and of the *epitropos* (administrator) Ioannes and of the *oikonomos* (steward) Georgios (this mosaic pavement) was

renovated in the year 467, [through the zeal] of the monks Ioannes, Theodoros (and) Ioannes; Kosmas (is the) mosaicist" [= March 572 CE–March 573 CE]." Transcription, translation, and commentary in Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, "Greek Inscriptions," 393–400, inscr. no. 1. In line with Politis's site overview, which describes the mosaic as coming from the "entrance room of the church" ("The Sanctuary of Lot," 366), Meimaris's and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou's report on the inscription indicates that it probably belonged to the narthex ("Greek Inscriptions," 393), but Politis writes in the same excavation report that the mosaic originally paved the *diakonikon* (Politis, "Late Antique Period," 119–22; Konstantinos D. Politis, "The Mosaic Pavements," in *Sanctuary of Lot*, ed. Konstantinos D. Politis, 177).

34 Politis, "Late Antique Period," 126–34.

35 Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτ(άτου) πατρὸς ἡ|μῶν Ἰακόβου τοῦ ἐπισκ(όπου) κ(αὶ) Σοζω|μενοῦ ἡγουμένου ἐγένετο ἡ ψή|φωσ(ις), μη(νὶ) Ἀπριλ(ίῳ), ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιῶνος) ι΄, ἔτους φ΄. "In the time of our holy father Iakovos, the bishop, and of Sozomenos, (the) hegumen, the laying of the mosaic was made in (the) month of April, in (the) 10th indiction, in (the) year 500 [=April 605 CE, or April 607 CE]." Transcription, translation, and commentary in Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, "Greek Inscriptions," inscr. no. 4, 401–03. There is a contradiction in the written dating formula, clearly due to scribal error, since April of the year 500 of the Era of Provincia Arabia did not fall in the tenth indiction but the eighth. So, the date should correctly read either April of 500 (Era of Provincia Arabia), 8th indiction (= April 605 CE) or April of 502 (Era of Provincia Arabia), 10th indiction (= April 607 CE) (Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, "Greek Inscriptions," 402). See also Politis, "Mosaic Pavements," 175–76; Politis, "The Sanctuary of Lot," 358.

36 +Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλ(εσ)τ(άτου) Χρηστοφόρου | πρ(εσβυ)τ(έρου) | (καὶ) χοριεπ(ισ)-κ(όπου) (καὶ) Ζήνονος | πρ(εσβυτέρου) [(καὶ)] οἰκόνο|μῳ καὶ Ἰωάννου Ραβίβ[ου πρ(εσβυτέρου)?] καὶ δι | οικητοῦ, ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο τῆς | ψηφόσεως τῆς βασιλικῆς τοῦ ἁγί(ου) τόπου | ἐν μ(η)ν(ὶ) Ξανθικῷ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε΄, τ(οῦ) φπς΄· (καὶ) | Γεωργί(ου) κανδιλάπ(του). + Ἰωάπες Σαβνηάου. "In the name of the most Godloving Christophoros, (the) presbyter and chorepiskopos (country bishop), and of Zenon, (the) presbyter and oikonomos (steward), and of Ioannes son of Rabibos, [(the) presbyter?] and *dioiketes* (administrator), this work of the mosaic pavement of the basilica of the holy place was made in the month of Xanthikos, in (the) 5th indiction, in the (year) 586; and (in the time) of Georgios (the) *candelaptes* (candle lighter). Ioapes, son of Sabneaos." Transcription, translation, and commentary in Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, "Greek Inscriptions," inscr. no. 5, 403–09. Here, as in the inscription before the cave entrance (see previous note), there is a discrepancy between the provincial year and indiction cycle. Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou think a scribal error in the provincial year more likely, rendering a date of 692 CE ("Greek Inscriptions," 407), while Politis accepts the provincial year over the indiction (i.e. 691 CE) ("Mosaic Pavements," 176–77; see also Politis, "The Sanctuary of Lot," 358–59). In the conservation work undertaken on the nave mosaic, portions of an older pavement were found below, which the excavator dates to the 605/07 phase of the church. Politis also notes that the late seventh-century renovation included the installation of a new ambo (on the site where one had stood in the early seventh-century phase, traces of which were found in situ), repairs made to the mosaic of the sanctuary, and the replastering of the walls and columns (Politis, "The Sanctuary of Lot," 364–65, and Konstantinos D. Politis, "The Conservation and Heritage Management of the Sanctuary of Lot at Dayr 'Ain 'Abata," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 10 (2009): 259–68.

37 *SEG* 30:1675: ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγι(ωτάτου) (καὶ) ὁσιωτ(άτου) | πυμήνος καὶ ἐπισκό(που) ἡμῶν | [Σ]εργήου (καὶ) Σεργίου πρεσβυτέ(ρου) |(καὶ) χωροεπισκόπ(ου) ἡμῶν [ἐγένετο] | ἡ ψήψωσ(ις) ἐν μη[νὶ. Σεπτεμβρίου] | ἰνδικ(τιῶνος) ζ᾽ τοῦ θξω᾽ ἔτου[ς]. "At the time of our most holy and saintly hegoumen and bishop Sergios and of the priest and chorepiscopus Sergios the mosaic was made in the month of . . . in the 7th year of the indiction,

869 [by the Seleucid era] (= 557/58 CE).” Text and translation after Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 396–99 and Chaker Ghadban, “Inscriptions grecques et latine de Nabha,” *Ktema* 5 (1980), 105–07, no. 5.

38 + ἐν χρόνοις τοῦ ὁσιωτ(άτου) π(ατ)ρό|ς ἡμῶ(ν) καὶ ἐπισκ(ὀπου) Μιχαήλ ἐ|ψηφόθη ἡ μέση τῆς ἁγί(ας) | ἐκλησίας μ[ε]τὰ καὶ τὸν | δύω ἐμβό[λον] (καὶ) τοῦ νά|ρθικος σπο[υδῆ] Κοστέου | διακ(όνου) Βασιάνου (καὶ) Ἰώσιφ δ|[ι]ακ(όνου) Τζαιάρ(ου) οἰκονόμ|ων ἐν μ(ηνὶ) δεκεμβ(ρ)ίου | ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ιε’ τοῦ ηνᾳ ἔτους +. “In the time of our very saintly father and bishop Michael, was mosaicked the central hall (nave) of the holy church with the two aisles and the narthex by the care of Kosteos, deacon, son of Bassianos, and of Joseph, deacon, son of Tzaiaros, both *oikonomoi*, in the month of December, 15th indiction, year 1058 (= December 746 CE).” Text and translation after Ghadban, “Inscriptions grecques,” 108–10, no. 8. On the date, see ibid. and *SEG* 30:1676, contra Donceel-Voûte, *Pavements des églises*, 397–99.

39 *SEG* 29: 1610: Ἐπὶ [τοῦ –- — ἐτελει]ώθη τὸ ἅγ(ιον) θυσιαστ(ήριον) σπουδῇ | Ἰωάννου διακ(όνου) ὑπὲρ σωτη(ρίας) τῶ[ν κα]ρποφορ(οὔντων). Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 250.

40 *SEG* 29: 1609: Ὑπὲρ | σωτηρί|ας Φιλα|δέλφου ‖ καὶ Ἡλίου | υἱοῦ· Ἀ|μήν. Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 250.

41 *SEG* 45: 1990: Ὑπὲρ ὁσίας | μνήμης Κυιντι|ανοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου) | κ(αὶ) | σωτηρίας τῶν ‖ αὐτοῦ τέκνων· | ἀμήν. Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 250.

42 *SEG* 34: 1513: Ἐψη|φώθη ἡ α|ὐτὴ ἡ ἁγιω(τάτη) | ἐ(κ)κλ(ησία) ἐπὶ. το(ῦ) ε(ὐλαβεστάτου) ‖ Κύρου ἐπι|σκ(όπου). “This most holy church was paved with mosaic in the day of the most pious bishop Cyrus.” Translation: Di Segni, “Greek Inscriptions,” 451–52, no. 59; see also Michel, *Églises d’époque byzantine*, 357. Bishop Cyrus is known from an inscription from the first baptistery of the Madaba Cathedral and, according to Di Segni, “must have held the episcopate before Elias, who was bishop in 530” (“Greek Inscriptions,” 452); cf. Piccirillo, “The Mosaics,” 318, generally suggesting a date prior to 530.

43 Michele Piccirillo, “New Churches on Mount Nebo New Discoveries,” in *Mount Nebo: New Archaeological Excavations 1967–1997*, ed. Michele Piccirillo and Eugenio Alliata (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1998), 250; and Piccirillo, “The Mosaics,” 356.

44 One name from this upper level, Fidos, appears twice – once in an inscription from the third intercolumnation on the north and once as the label of a figure depicted before the entrance at the west end of the nave – and these might or might not represent the same individual (see Table 5.1).

45 We cannot be sure that the same individual is intended in each case, and it could be argued that the differences in listed offices and groupings of individuals suggest that different individuals are commemorated in the two phases. For example, in the lower pavement Fidos is described as the son of Amrilios and is grouped together in a lacunous inscription just inside the entrance at the west end of the nave with one Milich (or Milichios), a monk(?) (Michel, *Églises d’époque byzantine*, 357; Di Segni, “Greek Inscriptions,” 454–55). In the upper pavement Fidos is identified as a deacon and shares his commemorative inscription in the third intercolumnation on the south with two fellow office holders, Thomas and Elpidios, as well as Kasiseos here identified as a monk (Michel, *Églises d’époque byzantine*, 356; and Di Segni, “Greek Inscriptions,” 456). A Fidos also appears, as indicated in the previous note, as one of the two labeled figures in a panel at the west end of the nave before the entrance (Michel, *Églises d’époque byzantine*, 354).

46 For example, Yasin, “Beyond Spolia.”

47 *SEG* 8: 318: a) [Σὺ]ν βοη|[θείᾳ] τοῦ Κυ(ρίου) ἡμ|[ῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ] Χ(ριστο)ῦ | ἐτελει|ώθη τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ‖ ἁγίου ναοῦ σὺν | τῷ φωτιστη|ρίῳ | *b*) ἐπὶ τοῦ | ὁσιωτ(άτου) Σεργίου ‖ ἐπισκ(όπου) καὶ Μαρτυ|ρίου | θεοφιλ(εστάτου) πρεσ|β(υτέρου) καὶ ἡγουμέ(νου), ἐπὶ | τῆς ιε΄ | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), ἔτους | υϙβ΄. “With the help of our lord Jesus Christ, the work

of the holy church was completed, together with the baptistery, in the days of the most saintly bishop Sergios and of the most God-loving priest and hegumen Martyrios, in the 15th indiction, year 492." Translation: Di Segni, "Greek Inscriptions," 432; see also Michel, *Églises d'époque byzantine*, 338. The stone font too names Sergios: *SEG* 8: 319: *a*) † | Σέργιος ὁ | ἁγιώτ(ατος) ἐπίσκο(πος) | τῷ Θ(ε)῵. Τὰ σὰ ‖ σοὶ προσφ|έρο † *b*) † | Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁ|σιωτ(άτου) Μαρτυ|ρίου ἡγουμ(ένου). . . . "Sergios, the most holy bishop, to God: Thine I bring to Thee. In the days of the most saintly hegumen Martyrios. . . ." Translation after Di Segni, "Greek Inscriptions," 432–33.

48 The inscription on the stone font of the south baptistery was also subsequently partially deleted, likely, as Di Segni suggests, because it contained some liturgical formula that was later deemed unacceptable ("Greek Inscriptions," 432–33). See also Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 150; Michel, *Églises d'époque byzantine*, 338.

6 The power of the eucharist in early medieval Syria

Grant for salvation or magical medication?

Volker Menze

Towards the end of antiquity, around 600, John Moschos reported in his *Spiritual Meadow* about two Syrian brothers who were money dealers in Constantinople.* When their father passed away, the younger brother returned to Syria to take over the paternal business, while the older one remained in the capital. Soon the older brother was disturbed by nightly visions of his brother in Syria fornicating with a tavern keeper's wife. As the visions continued, he recalled his brother from Syria and questioned him about the matter. The brother swore by God that he had not fornicated with anyone. However, he admitted to having begun to be in communion with the "Severians," the non-Chalcedonians, in his village. Opponents labeled non-Chalcedonians "Severians" after their former patriarch Severos of Antioch (512–18), one of the major theologians of the sixth century presented here as tavern keeper.[1] The latter insinuation has no factual basis, but it slanders the non-Chalcedonians: their spiritual leader is accused of conducting a business that was not respectable in the Roman world.[2] The "tavern keeper's wife" refers to the non-Chalcedonian church, which had started to build its ecclesiastical structures following the persecutions of the 520s and 530s.[3] In other words, the Chalcedonian author interprets the celebration of a non-Chalcedonian eucharist as fornication – as unlawful intercourse with a condemned heresy.

Hagiography may not be the obvious place to learn about eucharistic communities and the meaning of the eucharist in general, but Greek and Syriac saints' lives written after the Council of Chalcedon (451), from John Rufus to the time of John Moschos, include numerous examples of eucharistic miracles and stories about the eucharist.[4] Furthermore, a substantial number of canons and legal rulings from the Syrian Orthodox tradition of this time are concerned with the eucharistic offering.[5] Among the most relevant are canonical rulings by the bishops John of Tella (482–538) and especially Jacob of Edessa (630–708).[6] As the eucharistic rite constituted the major ritual of Christian worship and the eucharistic elements its central objects, it seems appropriate to inquire as to the meaning of this noticeable concern with the eucharist as an aspect of late antique and early medieval Christian worship.[7]

After some short remarks on the eucharist and its importance in the historical context, this chapter addresses the production of the eucharist and the possibility of a doctrinally distinct marking of the eucharistic bread. The "heretical" eucharist was not regarded as a token of salvation but could appear in the heated doctrinal

controversies as a piece of dangerous magic that led to perdition.[8] But perceptions of one's own communion's eucharist differed. Ecclesiastical authorities, especially bishops, regarded the eucharist as the voucher of salvation, while the laity – at least in part – regarded it as a magical medicine against earthly hazards.[9]

The ecclesiastical understanding of the eucharist

Since the beginning of the fifth century, the eucharist not only played a central role in the Christian ritual as the bloodless sacrifice, it also moved to the center of the Christological controversy between the theological "schools" of Alexandria and Antioch.[10] The eucharist and its meaning became of primary importance in both the "Nestorian" and Chalcedonian controversies.[11] The question of the human and divine natures of Christ could not be separated from the sacrifice of his body in the liturgy. According to Cyril of Alexandria (412–444) – later venerated by both sides, supporters as well as opponents of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 – the *Logos* and the flesh were inseparable.[12] Only those who would receive the Son of God in the sacrament could achieve salvation; all others were excluded from it. In other words, seen through the eyes of a theologian, the partaking of the right eucharist was a matter of life and death. Christians may have regarded this as something of a curse, as a simple monk in John Moschos's *Spiritual Meadow* so well expressed it: " 'But truly, abba, all the sects speak like that sir: that if you are not in communion with us, you are not being saved.' I am a simple person and I really do not know what to do."[13] Be this as it may, by the end of antiquity, the eucharist had gained the major role in the soteriological question central to the Christological controversy.

The terminology of Christian authors in referring to the sacrament varies greatly, often indicating the sacrament in general rather than the concrete objects "bread" or "wine."[14] How bread and wine were mixed – or if the sacrament was given separately, or under one species – varied in the different Christian traditions. However, it was the eucharistic bread that plays the major role in the surviving sources.[15] Sometimes it remains unclear – for example, in the communion of the sick – whether wine had any role at all, although in most cases we may assume that the consecrated bread was dipped in the wine (*intinctio*) before being brought to the sick by a deacon or any other trustworthy person.[16]

Production and handling of the eucharist

John Rufus's *Life of Peter the Iberian* dates from the end of the fifth century. It recounts the story of a Georgian prince and hostage at the court in Constantinople who fled the capital in the 430s and established himself as an ascetic and bishop in the Holy Land. The text grants a rare glimpse into the production of the eucharistic bread:[17]

> For he [Peter the Iberian] was not used to having [bread] brought like [those that were] coming from the market and offer [them], but he would send

> someone suitable to where they were making bread and have [loaves of] bread prepared there, which were beautiful, white, and worthy for the oblation of God [and] yet very small in size. He [had] many like these made and dried [them] up and kept [them] in a clean vessel, [so that] where[ver] he went, he offered the holy oblation from these.

As a non-Chalcedonian, expelled from his see 452/3, Peter the Iberian had become a vagabond bishop traveling Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia for more than three decades until his death in 491. Probably settling for usually only a few years, Peter lacked an institutional framework and proper facilities to prepare the eucharistic bread and therefore ordered a trustworthy person to have special bread baked for the eucharist at local bakeries.[18]

Production of the eucharistic bread became more elaborate and ritualized in the middle ages in all eastern liturgical traditions. Concerns included which ingredients were to be used (in the Syrian Orthodox tradition, leavened dough from the best-quality flour, prepared with leaven from the last baking), who was allowed to do the kneading (a virgin, an unmarried priest or deacon, or a monk), when they did the kneading and baking (at sunset), and what they had to sing (psalms) while producing the bread.[19] Similar ritualized instructions for preparing the eucharistic bread can also be found in the medieval Latin West, where the manufacturing process changed in the eleventh century: mechanical presses were used to produce hosts that could bear designs.[20] In the time of Peter, however, manufacturing presses had not yet been developed, and while serving different communities as itinerant bishop, he may not always have had the option to prepare fresh bread for every eucharistic service but kept the unconsecrated loaves in reserve in clean vessels.

Numerous late antique sources emphasize the cleanliness, purity, even sacredness of the eucharistic vessels – usually a chalice and a paten.[21] Given that the vessels for containing the eucharist were already considered sacred, the bread was even more so. Ecclesiastical canons demand persons handling the eucharistic bread to keep it pure, carry it with honor – in parchment, linen, or in a leaf of beet or cabbage that should be burned (or eaten!) after usage – and bury the unused fragments.[22] Menstruating women were not allowed to participate in the eucharistic liturgy at all.[23] In his fundamental study *Bread and the Liturgy*, George Galavaris concluded that the "awareness of the importance of the bread for the eucharist implies special care in distinguishing it, by relevant symbols or inscriptions impressed on it, from other kinds of bread."[24] Unfortunately, literary sources are no help, as they scarcely even mention eucharistic bread stamps.[25] The *Quaestiones et Responsiones* by John of Tella, a sixth-century non-Chalcedonian bishop in exile, answers a query about what a faithful Christian should do when he "finds" a heretical oblation (*qurbono*): "It is right to flee from their [i.e. the 'heretical'] oblate as from a poison of death."[26] This indicates that in the sixth century, bread must have been marked or stamped in a way that made it possible for the faithful to identify a loaf as eucharistic bread – and also to be able to tell if it was "orthodox" eucharistic bread or that of another Christian party. Some bread stamps – eucharistic as well as others – have survived from late antiquity and the early middle ages that may help to illuminate this concern.

Eucharistic bread stamps

In recent years Béatrice Caseau has contributed important analyses of (bread) stamps in several articles. The most encompassing study on eucharistic bread stamps remains Galavaris's *Bread and the Liturgy*.[27] Galavaris argues for the development from simple to more sophisticated eucharistic bread stamps throughout late antiquity.[28] Their development follows the general trend of bread stamps that can often be identified as Christian through their use of Christian symbols such as a cross or dove but do not always indicate a eucharistic usage.[29]

Personal names on bread stamps, probably those of the owner of the bakery, certainly exclude usage for eucharistic bread, while an inscription such as ΚΑΡΠΟΙ ΘΕΟΥ ("fruits of the Lord") may identify the stamp as a eucharistic one.[30] One bread stamp bears a Greek inscription, TON APTON EIMIN [sic] TON [ΕΠΙ] OYCION KYPIE XAPICE EIMIN [sic], "Our daily bread, Lord, grant us," which Galavaris argues may likely indicate eucharistic usage (Fig. 6.1).[31] Another

Figure 6.1 Eucharistic bread stamp, terracotta, Egypt, fifth to sixth century (Courtesy of the Benaki Museum Athens)

eucharistic stamp shows a (western) stamp with a stag and trees, and a Latin inscription: + EGO SUM PANIS VIVUS QUI DE CELO DESCENDI ("I am the living bread that descends from heaven").[32]

With these stamps, the whole loaf was impressed, baked, and then divided for the communion (see Fig. 6.2).[33] How Christians could identify "their" bread from other Christian eucharistic bread remains unknown, but it may be assumed that besides the language, regional or local differences existed. The local community knew the message its resident bishop had inscribed on the eucharistic bread. Especially in the heated debate after the Council of Chalcedon in 451, ecclesiastical authorities made sure that their flock would not take the wrong bread by mistake. Jacob of Edessa once received from Muslims a eucharistic oblation that they had acquired from the Greeks. He immediately recognized it – by its Greek inscription? – as heretical and returned it.[34] Obviously, in a closely knit society people knew their priests or bishops; but at the peak of the Christological controversy, especially in the 520s and

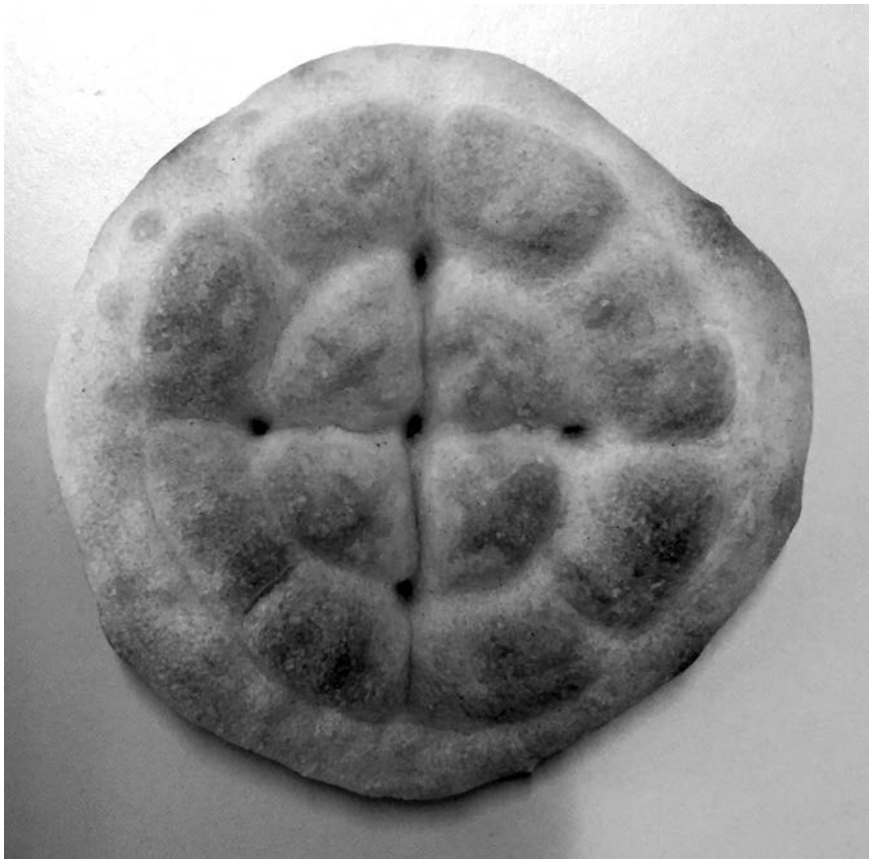

Figure 6.2 Syrian eucharistic bread as loaf (Courtesy of Mor Polycarpus, Dayro d-Mor Ephrem, Glane/NL)

530s, when a good part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Near East had probably been exchanged, the communities may have been in doubt about the orthodoxy of their clergy and the eucharist offered by the newly instated priests and bishops.

One of the quarrels between Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians concerned the so-called *Trisagion*, the biblical *Sanctus* that formed part of the Anaphora, the prayer of consecration recited over the bread and wine.[35] This prayer and acclamation "O holy God, O Holy Mighty, O Holy Immortal, have mercy on us," seems to have started as a regional eastern peculiarity in the fifth century, but the insertion of "who has been crucified for us" before the prayer caused a fierce doctrinal controversy in the sixth century.[36] The non-Chalcedonians regarded the "who has been crucified for us" as explanation to highlight Christ's soteriological role for the believer.[37] It is therefore not surprising to find the acclamation part of the *Trisagion* ΑΓΙΟC Ο ΘΕΟC, ΑΓΙΟC ICΧΥROC, ΑΓΙΟC ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟC ("O holy God, O Holy Mighty, O Holy Immortal") on eucharistic bread stamps as a twentieth-century example from the Coptic Church shows (Fig. 6.3). As an almost identical wooden bread stamp possibly dates to the twelfth century, the *Trisagion* motif existed in the

Figure 6.3 Coptic bread stamp, wood, twentieth century (author's photograph)

Figure 6.4 Syrian eucharistic bread stamp, twelve crosses symbolizing the twelve apostles, wood, twentieth century (Courtesy of Mor Polycarpus, Dayro d-Mor Ephrem, Glane/NL)

Coptic tradition for at least 800 years.[38] The *Trisagion* was introduced to the Coptic liturgy in the fifth century, and although it cannot be proven that non-Chalcedonian Christians already used this phrase on their bread stamps at this time, it is highly unlikely that the Coptic Church only started to use late antique key phrases in Greek letters in the high middle ages, when the Church had by then been separated from Greek-speaking Christendom for centuries.[39] In other words, just as liturgies and liturgical practices remained stable over centuries, the use of the *Trisagion* on non-Chalcedonian bread stamps might well have originated in the Chalcedonian controversy of the sixth century.[40] However, as late antique eucharistic bread stamps may partially also have been manufactured from wood like today's stamps (see Fig. 6.4) and are therefore not preserved, an answer remains speculative.

The power of the eucharist: grant for salvation and/or magical medicine?

In the wake of the Chalcedonian controversy, the ritual of the eucharist – that is, the breaking of the eucharistic bread – became a marker of orthodoxy:

> When he [Peter the Iberian] came to the fearful breaking of the bread, with all groaning and anguish of heart and many tears, as was his custom, so much

> blood burst forth when he broke [it], so that the holy table was sprinkled all over. . . . He quickly turned and saw the Lord standing at his side, encouraging him and saying to him, "Bishop, break [it]! Do not be afraid! I did this for the sake of my glory and not for yours, so that everyone may learn where the truth is and who possesses the orthodox faith.[41]

Christ proves Peter's orthodoxy – and thereby also his sanctity – by turning the eucharistic bread into bloody flesh.[42] John Rufus, author of the *Life of Peter*, reports a similar miracle in his *Plerophoriae*, when the faithful took the eucharist home, only to find it later turned into the flesh and blood of Christ.[43] In contrast, in John Rufus's accounts, Chalcedonian eucharistic bread is rotten and the wine has turned into vinegar.[44]

The divine approval of orthodoxy by the eucharistic miracle was not exclusive to non-Chalcedonian authors. Almost a century later, John Moschos narrated several such miracles, in his case as proof of the orthodoxy of the Council of Chalcedon: two stylites on their column (one Chalcedonian, one non-Chalcedonian) try to win each other over, until the Chalcedonian asks to be given the opponent's eucharistic portion. He throws first the non-Chalcedonian and then a Chalcedonian eucharist in a pot of boiling water. The heretical eucharist is dissolved into the boiling water while the orthodox one cools it down.[45] Other stories tell of the eucharistic bread taken up in a flash of lightning and the reserved sacrament sprouting shoots.[46]

The perception of the eucharist in real life, however, seems to have been more profane than hagiographers would have us believe and ecclesiastical authorities would have wished. Some of the ecclesiastical canons of the sixth century indicate that priests needed to be reminded of the basic sacredness of the eucharist, to keep it clean and pure. Some priests also had limited understanding of the eucharistic liturgy and made fools of themselves at the altars.[47] Those clergy needed to be instructed that the eucharist did not provide ordinary food and drink for the body. The Church postulated that eating the consecrated bread as physical nourishment would not bless the receiver but make him sick, citing 1 Corinthians 11:27–34: "Whoever, therefore, eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be answerable for the body and blood of the Lord. . . . If you are hungry, eat at home, so that when you come together, it will not be for your condemnation." Therefore, deacons and priests should be watchful not to prepare too many eucharistic elements, as they would either become stale or the clergy might greedily consume them as food instead of seeing them as "awe-inspiring Mysteries."[48] Indeed, a new type of ascetics called Nazirites had established themselves in Syria in the fifth century and apparently tried to live off the eucharistic elements alone. They therefore received some extra bites and sips from the eucharistic offering.[49]

The attitude of the nonascetic, nonmonastic laity varied even more, from complete ignorance to the well-educated faithful who not only wished to regularly participate in the communion but insisted on receiving the eucharist from someone whom they believed to be personally upright or even holy.[50] Villagers might ask a holy man, "How, blessed sir, does the oblation that a man receives profit

him? For what [purpose] is the oblation?"[51] On the other end of the scale, already Gregory of Nazianzos forbade any personalized eucharistic service, claiming that the ordained clergy fulfilled a subsidiary function only, making "no addition whatever to the rites that are performed, although he be an angelic and heavenly man in his character, nor does he detract anything from the divine grace, if he has lived a degraded and low life."[52] Severus of Antioch considered the epiclesis, the eucharistic prayer spoken by the offering priest, to be essential for the consecration of the eucharistic material: "It is not the offerer himself who, as by his own power and virtue, changes the bread into Christ's body, and the cup of blessing into Christ's blood, but the God-befitting and efficacious power of the words which Christ who instituted the mystery commanded to be pronounced over the things that are offered."[53] However, this hardly persuaded the laity, some of whom questioned the personal integrity of the local clergyman who offered them the eucharist.

Probably even worse in the eyes of the Church, the eucharistic bread was misused as an apotropaic amulet. This of course was nothing completely new and should not have come as a surprise to the institutional Church. Already in pre-Constantinian times the *Traditio Apostolica* credited the eucharist with the magical power of protecting the faithful against deadly poison.[54] The sacrament of the eucharist in general has been regarded as "magic" in modern scholarship because of the action of reciting words that would convert bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.[55] Late antique theologians certainly did not share this perspective, as in their worldview "magic" remained a pejorative term reserved for non-Christian divinations.[56] However, a Christian holy man might advise the sprinkling of holy water on a sick animal while at the same time forbidding the casting of incantations.[57] He did not facilitate defining the fine line between magical, illicit divinations and licit calls for God's help by using blessed or sacred tools, such as relics or eulogia, including blessed bread.

When Jacob of Edessa was asked if it is permissible to tie pieces of the eucharistic bread to an amulet-necklace and wear them, or to put them into the owner's bed or the walls of his home, the learned bishop was not amused. He remonstrated that the eucharist should in no way be compared to common things, and not even to otherwise venerable Christian objects like the cross, the bones of saints, or sacred vessels. The eucharist should never be used for the protection of something physical, such as a house, garden, or vineyard: "The consecration of the holy mysteries is for the redemption of the living and not for possessions and the healing of animals."[58] The proper eucharist should always remain the food of the soul for those in Christ and be given as a token for the resurrection of the dead and eternal life.[59]

Lay persons, however, held different views and apparently requested their parish priests to celebrate the eucharist in their fields and vineyards to protect their crops and cattle. How such a eucharistic celebration in the fields and vineyards might have been staged is not recorded in the surviving sources from early medieval Syria, but its motivation is certainly the same as that behind the well-known eucharistic processions through the fields in late medieval Europe.[60] The

eucharistic stories from this time are legion. No doubt some of the individual solutions found to assist the faithful with protection or fertility in later periods, such as scattering a pulverized eucharistic wafer in the garden or placing it in a stable or even a hive, were similarly practiced in Syria centuries earlier.[61] It may not have been uncommon to put pieces of the eucharist in the fodder and water of the livestock – or, alternatively, to put it around animals' necks as apotropaic amulets – to protect from sickness and death what was without doubt the most precious property of any rural population.[62] In other words, bypassing the problem of illicit divination, some among the laity rather mundanely replaced the promise of spiritual salvation through the eucharist with the hope of saving their possessions.

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The eucharist became arguably the most sacred object in Christian worship during late antiquity. However, in contrast to many other sacred objects, the eucharist was a very inexpensive and easily reproducible object. To make it precious, it needed to be prepared not in an ordinary way but handled with utmost purity, from its production via the ritual until consumption and final disposal. Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian clergy were obviously strongly opposed to each other's eucharist and demonized their opponents' sacrament. Thereby both sides attributed sinister magical powers to a "heretical" eucharistic offering. The non-Chalcedonian bishop John of Tella called the "heretical" eucharistic bread "the poison of death," while the Chalcedonian John Moschos narrated how a non-Chalcedonian husband ran after his wife, grabbed her at her throat, and forced her to spit out the Chalcedonian eucharistic portion, an action for which he was condemned.[63] In effect, the sacrament's powers, whether spiritual or magical, were understood rather similarly among Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian ecclesiastics.[64]

Investing the sacraments with magical powers certainly did not facilitate instruction of the laity in the crucial role of the eucharist in achieving salvation. A lack of education among the lower clergy in the time of doctrinal controversy and persecution probably also allowed the laity to come up with rather earthly interpretations of and applications for the eucharistic bread. Even when ecclesiastical canons forbade certain actions as uncanonical, this did not have the intended effect. Taken out of the contemplative world of the churches, as well as from the battleground of Christological concerns about salvation, the sacrament turned into a universal token of protection for the villagers' households, stables, and lands against misfortune.[65] In this way, the eucharistic bread could serve as a magical medicine against earthly evils that endangered people's daily struggle for survival.

Notes

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1 John Moschos, *Spiritual Meadow* 188; PG 87:3065–68, trans. John Wortley, *The Spiritual Meadow (Pratum Spirituale) by John Moschos*, CS 139 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian, 1992), 160–62. For Severos see the introductory work by Pauline Allen and C. T. R. Hayward, *Severus of Antioch* (London: Routledge, 2004).
2 Any work in an inn or tavern was regarded as disgraceful and entailed legal restrictions: for example, exclusion from military service. See *CTh* VII.13.8 from 380 CE. For further restrictions see also *CTh* XV.13.1 from 396 CE.
3 See Volker L. Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
4 For John Rufus, see Jan Eric Steppa, "John Rufus," in *GEDSH*, 231f.; for John Moschos see Judith Pauli, "Johannes Moschus," in *LACL*, ed. Siegmar Döpp and Wilhelm Gerlings (Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 396f.
5 "Legal rulings" refers here to the genre of *Questiones et Responsiones*. Inasmuch as they constitute a different legal genre, the term is of no importance here. See also Konrad D. Jenner, "The Canons of Jacob of Edessa in the Perspective of the Christian Identity of His Day," in *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day*, ed. Bas ter Haar Romeny (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 102. In general for the legal sources in the Syrian Orthodox tradition, see Walter Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht II: Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrer (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989).
6 The canons and legal rulings are most easily accessible in *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition*, ed. and trans. Arthur Vööbus, 4 vols., CSCO 367/68, 375/76 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1975/76); see also Arthur Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen: Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde*, 2 vols., CSCO 307/17 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1970). For the two authors and their texts see also below.
7 For a discussion of the relationship between *action* and *object* in the eucharist see Nathan Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist outside Mass* (New York: Pueblo Publishing, 1982), 343–51.
8 A general definition of the term "magic" seems difficult or even impossible to achieve. See David E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," in *ANRW* II.23:2 (1980), 1507–57; Silke Trzcionka, *Magic and the Supernatural in Fourth-Century Syria* (London: Routledge, 2007), 5–11. For the ancient origin of the term see Jan N. Bremmer, "The Birth of the Term 'Magic'," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 1–11. See also discussion below.
9 The voice of the laity, however, can usually be recovered only through the statements of the ecclesiastical authorities.
10 The term "school" has rightly been questioned in recent scholarship. See Paul L. Gavrilyuk, *The Suffering of the Impassible God: The Dialectics of Patristic Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004), 136–41.
11 Henry Chadwick, "Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy," *JThS* N.S. 2 (1951), 145–64. See also Ezra Gebremedhin, *Life-Giving Blessing: An Inquiry into the Eucharistic Doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria* (Uppsala: Borgströms 1977). For the historical context of the controversy and its outcome see Susan Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004).
12 Aptly phrased by Henry Chadwick discussing the heart of Cyril's faith: "Every Eucharist is a reincarnation of the Logos who is there πάλιν ἐν σώματι, and whose ἰδία σάρξ is given to the communicant." Chadwick, "Eucharist and Christology," 155.
13 John Moschos, *Spiritual Meadow* 26; PG 87:2872 (trans. Wortley, 18).
14 Taking the Syrian bishop Jacob of Sarug (died 521) as a particularly poetic example, he referred to the eucharist as *rōzē* (mysteries), *qurbono* (sacrificial offering or oblation),

hlūlo (wedding banquet), the *tešmeštō* (service), among other things. See Amir Harrak, "The Syriac Orthodox Celebration of the Eucharist in Light of Jacob of Serugh's *Mimrō*," in *Jacob of Serugh and His Time. Studies in Sixth-Century Syriac Christianity*, ed. George A. Kiraz (Piscataway: Gorgias Press 2010), 92–94. Other Syriac *termina* specifically refer to the eucharistic bread – the *puršono* (portion), the *debehto* (oblation, offering), or *gmurtho* (fiery coal), or from the Greek *margaritai* (pearls). See Volker Menze, "The *Regula ad Diaconos*: John of Tella, His Eucharistic Ecclesiology and the Establishment of an Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in Exile," *OrChr* 90 (2006): 54–60.

15 For the development in the medieval West see G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden: Brill 1995), 39–40.

16 See "communion" in Peter D. Day, *The Liturgical Dictionary of Eastern Christianity* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1993), 55f. For a more exhaustive overview of eucharistic rites and liturgies see Hans Bernhard Meyer, *Eucharistie: Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1989). For examples of communion of the sick in the rulings of Jacob of Edessa, see below.

17 John Rufus, *Life of Peter the Iberian*, 150, ed. and trans. Cornelia B. Horn and Robert R. Phenix, Jr., *John Rufus: The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 223.

18 For Peter's life and his "peripatetic form of monasticism" see Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Aryeh Kofsky, *The Monastic School of Gaza* (Brill: Leiden, 2006), 24–31, 53–61. See also Volker Menze, "Die Stimme von Maiuma: Johannes Rufus, das Konzil von Chalkedon und die wahre Kirche," in *Literarische Konstituierung von Identifikationsfiguren in der Antike*, ed. B. Aland, J. Hahn, and C. Ronning (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 215–36. For Peter the Iberian see in general Cornelia Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). In the early centuries – but partially also still in the time of Peter the Iberian – it can be assumed that the faithful brought bread from home that was then consecrated for the eucharistic service. See Otto Nußbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1979), 107–12. The Methodist Laurence Hull Stookey, *Eucharist: Christ's Feast with the Church* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 124, argues for homemade bread by a parishioner (against the modern "plastic-looking wafers") for the eucharistic offering but warns against "exotic" tastes: "The use of cranberry bread or onion-garlic bread also introduces a discordant note to the meal." For the Catholic regulation with further references see Meyer, *Eucharistie*, 383.

19 For a short overview of the eastern traditions see Day, *The Liturgical Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*, 38–41. In the medieval West similar care and rules developed, see Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to Eucharist*, 40. For the eucharistic bread in the Syrian Orthodox tradition see Gabriel Rabo, "Das eucharistische Brot ܩܘܪܒܢܐ in der Syrisch-Orthodoxen Kirche," in *Symposium Syriacum VII*, ed. R. Lavenant (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1998), 140–42; for a recent overview on the West Syrian liturgy see Bryan D. Spinks, *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (London: SCM Press, 2013), 155–65.

20 Aden Kumler, "The Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic Morphology in the Middle Ages," *Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59–60 (2011): 184–87; see especially instructions 186 which detail ritual purity.

21 See John of Tella's *Quaestiones et Responsiones,* his *Regula ad Diaconos* and his *Canones* as well as Jacob of Edessa, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*. For the latter see Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen 1, B*, 275. See also Nußbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie*, 110f.

22 See, for example, John of Tella, *Quaestiones et Responsiones* 8 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 212f. [198]); also Jacob of Edessa, *Questions by John the Stylite* 3 (Vööbus, *Synodicon,* 247 [226f.]); *Questions by Addai* 27 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 262 [239]). As lettuce should also have been available in Syria, one wonders if a leaf of lettuce would also

have worked, or if Gregory the Great's story about the little demon hiding in a lettuce and swallowed by a greedy nun was known: "Diabolus clamare, dicens: 'ego quid feci? Ego quid feci? Sedebam mihi super lactucam. Venit illa et momordit me'" (Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* I.4). It was requested that dust from the sanctuary be buried, not thrown into a pit from which animals and cattle could drink. Jacob of Edessa, *Questions by Addai* 32 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 264 [240f.]). These canons refer not to home communion by the laity but to ecclesiastics handling the eucharist. For communion at home, which was still common at this time, see Robert Taft, "Home-Communion in the Late Antique East," in ARS LITURGICAE: *Worship, Aesthetics and Praxis: Essays in Honor of Nathan D. Mitchell*, ed. C. V. Johnson (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publication, 2003), 1–25; Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*, 158–59.

23 See John of Tella, *Quaestiones et Responsiones* 31 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 217 [202]); Jacob of Edessa, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, in *Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa*, trans. Karl Kayser (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1886), 12 [14–15]. However, see also Jacob of Edessa, *Questions by Addai* 24 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 262 [239]). A woman who had given birth was allowed to participate in the eucharist after two or three days if she had washed off the blood and cleaned herself.

24 George Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy: Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), 45.

25 Some liturgies mention stamps but offer no details. For the Greek *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, see Franz Joseph Dölger, "Heidnische und christliche Brotstempel mit religiösen Zeichen," *Antike und Christentum* 1 (1929): 1–46. For the Coptic tradition see L. Villencourt, "Les Observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l'église copte," *Le Muséon* 37 (1924): 247. I am indebted to one of the anonymous reviewers for this reference.

26 John of Tella, *Quaestiones et Responsiones* 44 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 220 [204f.]).

27 Béatrice Caseau, "Autour de l'autel: Le contrôle des donateurs et des donations alimentaires," in *Donations et donateurs dans le monde byzantin: Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg (13–15 mars 2008)*, ed. Jean-Michel Spieser and Elisabeth Yota (Paris: de Brouwer, 2012), 47–73; Béatrice Caseau, "Magical Protection and Stamps in Byzantium," in *Seals and Sealing Practices in the Near East: Developments in Administration and Magic from Prehistory to the Islamic Period*, ed. I. Regulski et al. (Leuven: Peeters and Oosterse Studies, 2012), 115–32; and Béatrice Caseau, "Les marqueurs de pain: Objets rituels dans le christianisme antique et byzantin," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 231 (2014): 599–617. See Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy*. Galavaris wrote the entries on "stamps" in the *ODB* 3:1942.

28 Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy*, 49.

29 Caseau has cautioned against "over-spiritualizing" certain symbols: not every stamp in the form of a cross is an eucharistic stamp; not every stamp with ΖΟΗ ΥΓΙΑ ("good health") should be interpreted as offering a (Christian) theological agenda. See Caseau, "Autour de l'autel: Le contrôle des donateurs et des donations alimentaires," 57–58. and Caseau, "Magical Protection and Stamps in Byzantium," 125–26.

30 Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy*, 46–47 but see also Caseau's call for caution (n. 29). For a Coptic bread stamp with a simple name see Martin von Falck et al., *Ägypten, Schätze aus dem Wüstensand: Kunst und Kultur der Christen am Nil* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1996), no. 175a. The exhibition catalogue includes a few further examples of bread stamps from Egypt. No. 176 may be a eucharistic bread stamp. See also Michael Grünbart, "Byzantine Metal Stamps in a North American Private Collection," *DOP* 60 (2006): 15, which – despite the title – offers some general notes on stamping in the ancient world.

31 Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy*, 47–48. (reading according to Galavaris); of course, it may also refer to the (literally) daily bread of a Christian owner or the *eulogia* bread.

32 Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy*, 57–58.

33 For further discussion of the eucharistic bread in other eastern traditions see Reginald M. Woolley, *The Bread of the Eucharist* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1913).
34 Jacob of Edessa, *Questions by John the Stylite* 23 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 244 [224]).
35 Robert Taft, "Trisagion," *ODB*, s.v. Sebastian Brock, "The Thrice-Holy Hymn in the Liturgy," *Sobornost/Eastern Churches Review* 7:2 (1985): 24–34.
36 First contemporary recital of the *Trisagion* seems to be in the Acts of Chalcedon (recited by eastern bishops): *ACO* II.1.1. For a discussion see Taft, "Trisagion" and Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*, 166–67.
37 For the controversy, which almost cost Emperor Anastasios (491–518) his throne, see Jitse Dijkstra and Geoffrey Greatrex, "Patriarchs and Politics in Constantinople in the Reign of Anastasius (with a Reedition of *O. Mon. Epiph.* 59)," *Millenium* 6 (2009): 223–64; Mischa Meier, "Σταυρωθείς δι' ήμᾶς: Der Aufstand gegen Anastasios im Jahr 512," *Millenium* 4 (2007): 157–237; Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*, 165–75.
38 Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy*, 92–95; for the twelfth-century bread stamp see George Galavaris and Richard Hamann-Mac Lean, eds., *Brotstempel aus der Prinz Johann Georg-Sammlung in Mainz* (Mainz: Kunstgeschichtliches Inst. der Univ., 1979), 38–39.
39 For the Byzantine tradition, Grünbart claims that eucharistic bread stamps "from late antiquity until today usually bear the same inscription IC XC NIKA ("Jesus Christ is victorious"); Grünbart, "Byzantine Metal Stamps in a North American Private Collection," 18–19.
40 This hypothesis nevertheless cannot explain why non-Chalcedonians in Egypt used the hymn without addition, nor how uniform the usage may have been in the sixth century, if ever. In other words, it remains unclear whether different non-Chalcedonian bishops in various non-Chalcedonian strongholds may have employed different key phrases.
41 John Rufus, *Life of Peter the Iberian*, 80, ed. and trans. Horn and Phenix, 121.
42 In the Latin West such transubstantiation miracles can be found slightly later, in the seventh century, and they become widespread in the high and late middle ages. See Peter Browe, *Die Eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* (Breslau: Müller & Seiffert, 1938), 93–202.
43 John Rufus, *Plerophoriae* 10, in *Jean Rufus, évêque de Maïouma: Plérophories, témoignages et révélations contre le Concile de Chalcédoine*, ed. and trans. F. Nau, *PO* 8/1 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1912), 24.
44 John Rufus, *Plerophoriae*, 65 (2), ed. and trans., F. Nau, *PO* 8/1, 122–23.
45 John Moschos, *Spritual Meadow* 29; PG 87:2876f. (trans. Wortley, 20–21).
46 John Moschos, *Spiritual Meadow* 30 and 79; PG 87:2877–80 and 2936f. (trans. Wortley, 21–22 and 63–64).
47 For the ignorance of some priests see Volker Menze, "Priests, Laity and the Sacrament of the Eucharist in Sixth Century Syria," *Hugoye* 7 (2007): 129–46.
48 Menze, "*Regula ad Diaconos*," 58f. See also Jacob of Edessa, *Questions by Abraham the Recluse* 2 (Vööbus, *Synodicon,* 255–56 [233]).
49 Arthur Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents regarding Legislation relative to Syrian Asceticism* (Stockholm: ETSE, 1960), 61. See also the two other instances (one referring only to the time of Lent) of ascetics living off the eucharistic offerings collected by Browe, *Die Eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters*, 49.
50 Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*, 158–59.
51 As some villagers told Simeon the Mountaineer when he entered their village and inquired about ecclesiastical services: John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. and trans. E. W. Brooks, *PO* 17–19 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1923–25), 233. Obviously John of Ephesus's story has the agenda of presenting Simeon the Mountaineer's task as being as difficult as possible.
52 Severos of Antioch, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis*, ed. and trans. E. W. Brooks, 265–7 [235f.];

quotations from Gregory of Nazianzos, *Oration*, 40.26, in *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 38–41*, ed. and trans. Claudia Moreschini and Paul Gallay, SC 358 (Paris: Cerf, 1990), 256–59; quotation from Severos, *Select Letters* III.3, trans. Brooks, 270 [239].

53 Severos, *Select Letters* III.3; trans. Brooks, 269 [238]. Eucharistic Anaphoras were spoken differently when celebrating the eucharist and were certainly not the same for Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians; John Moschos, *Spiritual Meadow* 199, PG 87:3088 (trans. Wortley, 177–78). See Derek Krueger, "The Unbounded Body in the Age of Liturgical Reproduction," *JECS* 17:2 (2009): 267–79. Note also Jacob of Edessa's observation in his letter to Thomas the Recluse about how traditions in celebrating the eucharist differed (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 224 [208f.]); and Jacob's reference to the saying of the "Hosanna," *Questions by Addai* 18 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 261 [238]).

54 *Traditio Apostolica* 36; *Didache: Zwölf-Apostel Lehre. Traditio Apostolica: Apostolische Überlieferung: Lateinisch, griechisch*, ed. and trans. Georg Schöllgen and Wilhelm Geerlings, Fontes Christiani 1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1991) 294–95. The debate concerning its authorship as well as the exact dating of the text does not matter here. For this, see for example Geerlings' introduction or Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins*, 48–50.

55 H. J. Magoulias, "The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.: Sorcery, Relics and Icons," *Byzantion* 37 (1967): 228.

56 Although a clear definition of what "magic" refers to in a late antique context remains debatable. See Bernhard H. Stolte, "Magic and Byzantine Law in the Seventh Century," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 105.

57 Barsanouphios and John of Gaza, *Letters* 753: *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondance* SC 468, ed. and trans. François Neyt, Paula De Angelis-Noah, and Lucien Regnault (Paris: Cerf, 2002), 196–97; English trans.: *Barsanuphius and John: Letters*, trans. John Chryssavgis (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 2:271. See also Jennifer L. Hevelone-Harper, *Disciples of the Desert: Monks, Laity, and Spiritual Authority in Sixth-Century Gaza* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 84–85; the animal in question may be a horse: see Anne McCabe, *A Byzantine Encyclopedia of Horse Medicine: The Sources, Compilation, and Transmission of the* Hippiatrica (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 17.

58 Jacob of Edessa, *Questions by Addai* 28, Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 262–63 [239f.]. The fear that animals might, accidentally, eat from the consecrated species is already visible centuries earlier in Christian texts. See *Traditio Apostolica* 37 (ed. and trans. Geerlings, 294f.). See overview of sources in Nußbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie*, 105–7.

59 Jacob of Edessa, *Quaestiones et Responsiones* 9, in *Reliquiae iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimae, syriace primus edidit*, ed. Paul A. de Lagarde (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1856), 120f. [Kayser, 13f.].

60 A mock celebration of the eucharist on the fields by children pasturing their parents' cattle is recorded in John Moschos, *Spiritual Meadow* 196, PG 87:3080–84 (trans. Wortley, 172–4), They celebrate it on a rock, but when reciting the holy words, a fire comes down from heaven and consumes everything. For the western middle ages, see Peter Browe, "Die eucharistischen Flurprozessionen und Wettersegen," *Theologie und Glaube* 21 (1929): 742–55; Peter Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Munich: Max Hueber, 1933), 126–30. Here, of course, the eucharist was not celebrated but carried around to protect the crop (and sometimes livestock was taken along as well).

61 Peter Browe, "Die Eucharistie als Zaubermittel im Mittelalter," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 20 (1930): 138–39.

62 Jacob of Edessa, *Quaestiones et Responsiones* 11 and 13 (Lagarde, 122–24 [Kayser, 14–16]). Less prominent but also mentioned are the holy oil, or *myron*, and baptismal water that might help against sickness and demons; Jacob of Edessa, *Questions by*

Addai 35 and 36 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 264 [241]). Walmsley estimates that 80 percent of the population in Syria lived in the countryside; that is, the great majority of people were dependent on their fields and livestock. See Alan Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria: An Archaeological Assessment* (London: Duckworth, 2007), 72.

63 John of Tella, *Quaestiones et Responsiones* 44 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 220 [204f.]); John Moschos, *Spiritual Meadow* 30, PG 87:2877 (trans. Wortley, 21–22).

64 This of course does not touch on the theological implications that may have caused Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian bishops to have different takes on the issue of the eucharist.

65 In the late middle ages in Bavaria, horses were actually brought to church (or rather holes were made in the outer walls of the church through which the horses could stick their heads) to watch the *elevatio* of the host: Nußbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie*, 137.

7 The transmission of liturgical joy in Byzantine hymns for Easter

Derek Krueger

A fifth-century Greek Christian hymn for the last Sunday before Lent describes how "Adam sat and wept opposite / The delight of Paradise beating his eyes with his hands." The entire congregation joins in the kontakion's refrain "*O Merciful One, have mercy on the one who has fallen*." The cantor even calls on Paradise to join in the weeping, bidding its trees to shed tears from their leaves and to bend earthward in postures of repentance.[1] A closely related ninth-century kanon hymn for Morning Prayer on the same day has the entire choir singing in Adam's voice, "I weep, I groan, I lament, / as I look upon the cherubim . . . set to guard the gate of Eden . . . / Woe is me! I cannot enter."[2] Eleventh-century books of liturgical melodies indicate a mournful melisma on the word "lament."[3] On Good Friday, a kontakion hymn of the sixth-century master Romanos the Melodist encourages all in attendance to join with the whole of creation to "shudder and groan at the Creator's suffering," recoiling in terror at the crucifixion.[4] But Christian affect shifts over the course of the year from lamentation to joy, and by contrast, the seventh-century kanon hymn for Easter attributed to John of Damascus encourages listeners to "sing [Christ's] praises" and take communion "in divine joy." "Let us be radiant," the singers declare to themselves. Christ himself commands them to "Rejoice!," just as he once greeted the women who had come to his empty tomb. In celebration of the resurrection, Christians should even "leap" or "dance."[5] This *Paschal Kanon* thus transmitted ebullience, encouraging appropriate sentiments in response to the salvific deeds of God.

Working at the intersection of Byzantine liturgy, the history of emotions, affect theory, and ritual and performance studies, I explore one aspect of Byzantine Orthodox liturgy as an affective environment, a cycle of performances that both expressed and shaped emotions. I do so by focusing on hymnography for Easter, both by looking at individual compositions and by considering their integration into larger prayer services.[6] This essay traces the *Paschal Kanon* from its composition in Jerusalem in late antiquity to a performance context in ninth-century Constantinople to pose questions about the role of liturgy in the formation and transmission of affect. Liturgical services interweave readings, prayers, declarations, and hymns, thus creating intertextual or interliturgical environments where liturgical texts comment on each other and together shape the experience of ritual.

In *Liturgical Subjects: Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium*, I focused particularly on the role of liturgy in generating penitential self-regard, at the coaxing of compunction and tears, and the performance of reflexive or inwardly directed lament. I argued that Byzantine liturgists encouraged penitence as the primary and normative disposition of the Byzantine liturgical subject. Penitential liturgies expressed grief most acutely in the first person singular, presenting a ritualized "I" in an abject state. In contrast, much of the language of joy in the Byzantine Orthodox liturgy is expressed collectively, in the first person plural, the speech of an elated "we." Easter thus pivoted from the penitential self to the joyous congregation.[7] Focusing on joy illustrates a broader range of liturgical affects central to the rhythms of the Byzantine calendar. In essence, my investigation gets to the heart of ritual studies in Byzantium: How did Byzantines expect their liturgy to work?

The *Paschal Kanon* and the emergence of a new hymnographic form

After forming grief and lament during Lent and Holy Week, the Byzantine Orthodox liturgy altered the way it called upon the emotions, instilling joy in response to the resurrection. The most famous hymnographic mechanism for this festive shift is the seventh-century *Paschal Kanon* composed for Morning Prayer, or *Orthros*, on Easter Sunday, which begins, "The day of resurrection."[8] Later tradition follows the earliest Greek manuscript witness, Sinai Gr. NE ΜΓ 5 and Sinai Gr. NE ΜΓ 56 of the eighth or ninth century, in attributing the hymn to "John the Monk," presumably John of Damascus (c. 675–749), a monk and hymnographer at the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem.[9] As Stig Simeon Frøyshov warns, however, with respect to questions of authorship in Byzantine hymnography, "ascriptions to hymn composers are in part notoriously untrustworthy."[10] Thus for our purposes, we shall remain agnostic about whether John of Damascus is the author of this hymn.

The *Paschal Kanon* employs not only emotional vocabulary but also affective rhetoric to encourage celebration.

> Come let us share in the new fruit of the vine, in divine gladness [τῆς θείας εὐφροσύνης], and in the kingdom of Christ, on the glorious day of the Resurrection, as we sing his praise as God to all the ages.[11]

Over the course of eight odes, the hymn both expresses rejoicing and attempts to instill it, commanding the very interior dispositions that the text expresses. The hymn describes, prescribes, and performs ritualized affect.

The kanon form emerged in the seventh century to augment a practice, common to Judean monasteries and parish churches since the late sixth century, of chanting eight or nine biblical songs, or canticles, during Morning Prayer.[12] Apparently, liturgists regarded the Canticles as insufficiently responsive to the liturgical calendar, and composers and poets in and around Jerusalem gradually began to

create new works, initially for major feasts, to adjust the focus of the service to the festal season and the lectionary.[13] The *Paschal Kanon* may be one of the earliest composed to conform Morning Prayer to a liturgical moment. Moreover, while scholars have primarily understood kanon hymns as an element of monastic, and not the so-called secular or cathedral, liturgy, this assumption merits rethinking. Two of the greatest composers of early kanons, Andrew of Crete and John of Damascus, were attached to the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem in the late seventh century, not to monasteries of the Judean desert. Andrew soon joined the staff of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople as a deacon and later became the Metropolitan of Crete, celebrating in the cathedral at Gortyna. If the origins of the kanon were monastic, it quickly found its way into the cathedral rite of Morning Prayer.[14]

While literary analysis of the *Paschal Kanon* assists in understanding its meaning, its function depended on its use in specific liturgical contexts. Despite the lack of a complete liturgical rubric for seventh-century Jerusalem, many contents of the Easter services at the Church of the Anastasis in late antiquity are attested by Georgian language lectionaries and hymnals. Their evidence can be supplemented by later Greek sources to reconstruct the shape of the liturgy from the Easter Vigil on Holy Saturday to Easter Morning Prayer and Divine Liturgy.[15] The hymn later traveled to the capital to become an integral element of subsequent Byzantine Easter celebrations. The Constantinopolitan monastic typikon, or rule, of the Stoudios Monastery prescribes a ninth-century performance context for the *Paschal Kanon*.[16] This rubric is still largely observed in the received tradition of the Greek Orthodox Church as represented in the Pentekostarion, the service book for the movable cycle from Easter to Pentecost.[17] Reading the hymn both independently and in light of the rest of the Stoudite Easter Morning Prayer service permits a greater appreciation of the poem's liturgical effects and allows us to consider the liturgy as a theater for the formation of emotions.

The emotional register of the *Paschal Kanon*

The *Paschal Kanon* opens with the words, "The day of resurrection [Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα]," a phrase that echoes the opening of an Easter sermon of Gregory of Nazianzos, which begins, "It is the day of resurrection and an auspicious beginning. Let us be made radiant by the feast and embrace each other" (*Or*. 1.1). Others have demonstrated the *Kanon*'s close intertextual relationship with Gregory's Oration 1 and a looser reliance on his Oration 45. In fact, as André Lossky has shown, the hymn assembles a bricolage of phrases and images drawn from the lections appointed for the day, the Psalms, typological models culled from other parts of the Bible, these patristic sermons, and the sequence of biblical canticles that kanon hymns supplemented or replaced.[18] This imbrication, typical of Byzantine hymnography, reassembles and mediates varied elements in a compositional whole. Ninth-century Stoudite practice assigns the reading of Gregory's first oration to the Morning Prayer service, but it is unclear whether in its original seventh-century performance context the source would have been heard along

with the hymn.[19] On one level, the hymn and its language can stand alone to express joy in the resurrection; nevertheless, the Stoudite performance practice would reinforce key images and locutions common to the hymn and the sermon. Regardless of its sources, the *Paschal Kanon*'s emotional rhetoric raises questions about how the hymn expects to work upon its singers and audience.

The first stanza, or troparion, of Ode 1 hearkens back to the biblical canticle that the ode replaces, namely the Song of Moses, which celebrates the crossing of the Red Sea with the declaration, "I will sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously" (Ex 15:1). Associating Easter with the ancient type of the Passover, the Exodus, and the passage across the Rea Sea, the hymn declares,

> The day of Resurrection [Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα], let us be radiant, O peoples! Pascha, the Lord's Pascha; for Christ God has brought us from death to life, and from earth to heaven, as we sing the triumphal song.[20]

The call to "be radiant" [λαμπρυνθῶμεν] connects sense perceptions, vision, and perhaps the feeling of suffusing warmth with the desired emotional state. In the predawn hours, the congregation join themselves to the rising sun. The following verse advises,

> Let us purify our senses, and in the unapproachable light of the resurrection we shall see Christ shining forth [ἐξαστράπτοντα], and we shall hear him saying boldly "Rejoice! [Χαίρετε]," as we sing the triumphal song.[21]

The triumphal affect thus results from proper hearing and seeing. The congregation should see the light and become the light. The call to become radiant encourages one to conform to or reflect Christ, since he now shines in the light of the resurrection.[22] Christ himself issues the demand to rejoice, an apparently redundant order since the song is already in progress. In fact, the redundancy of the requests for particular emotional states remains a key feature of the kanon in much Byzantine hymnography, likely following the example of some of the canticles and the psalms.

These themes of light, sound, and the call to rejoice recur throughout the poem. The ninth ode extends the exhortation to the Holy City and the Virgin Mary.

> Shine, shine [φωτίζου, φωτίζου], O New Jerusalem, for the glory of the Lord has risen upon you. Dance now and exult [ἀγάλλου], O Sion, and you too delight [τέρπου], pure Mother of God, at the arising of him to whom you gave birth.[23]

The poet quotes the Septuagint version of Isaiah 61:1 (LXX 60:1, "Shine, shine, O Jerusalem, for your light has come") to pair Jerusalem's reaction with Christ's brilliant resurrection. Even the city should dance with joy. If the church itself constitutes the city of Jerusalem, the call is reflexive, with the stanza seeking to generate in the congregants the reaction it already expresses.

The fifth ode provides a different instance of redundancy. Here the singers instruct themselves, "Let arise in the early dawn, and instead of myrrh, offer praises to the Master" (5.1). They allude to the account in Mark 16 and its variant in Luke 24 (but not in Matthew 28), where the biblical Marys bring spices to Christ's tomb, anticipating anointing his dead body. Late ancient lectionaries for Jerusalem assigned Mark 16:1–8 to the Divine Liturgy on Easter Sunday, so the story would be quite familiar, even it if had not yet been read out.[24] In substituting praises for myrrh, the singers both recapitulate and improve upon their biblical prototypes. The Marys came mourning; but this is the wrong emotion. When, in the Gospel of Matthew, Christ meets the myrrhbearers along the way, he speaks to them with the word "Χαίρετε," both "Greetings!" and "Rejoice" (Mt 28:9). Indeed this is the very greeting that the singers encourage themselves to hear in Ode 1. It is Christ's own first greeting to his followers on Easter. At a later date, as the manuscript Jerusalem Hagios Stavros 43, copied in 1122, attests, the kanon was immediately preceded by the Easter declaration, "Greetings, Christ is risen!" to a group of women in the church playing the role of the myrrhbearers, a small piece of liturgical theater representing these biblical events.[25]

The singers have already accepted their invitation to ritual action, having risen already at dawn, if they have not rather been up all night. Now they sing joyfully at precisely this hour. The effect is logically peculiar, but, apparently, liturgically normal, as the congregation becomes not the myrrhbearers but their ideal Christian fulfillment, a worshipping body already performing the prescribed deeds, rising and praising. The seventh ode returns to the myrrhbearers and the appointed lection from Mark, this time to present the progression of their emotions as a model for emulation:

> The holy women hastened after you with sweet spices. The One whom they sought with tears as a mortal, they worshipped with joy as the living God, and they proclaimed the mystic Passover, O Christ, to your disciples.[26]

In response, the congregation describes its own activity: "We feast death's slaughter [Θανάτου ἑορτάζομεν νέκρωσιν] . . . Leaping for joy, we sing hymns of praise [σκιρτῶντες ὑμνοῦμεν]" (7.3).

Even earlier in the hymn, the call to ritualized celebration already extends beyond the voice to the feet. The poet invokes "God's forebear David," who "dancing, leapt before the Ark [2 Kgdms 6:16–19]." But if the Ark was a "mere shadow [σκιώδους]," Christ is the "fulfillment of types [τὴν τῶν συμβόλων ἔκβασιν]." Therefore, "Let us, God's holy people, rejoice" (4.4). While it is unlikely that the singers actually leapt at this point, they figure themselves a few verses later, "pressing forward to the light . . . with joyful steps [ἀγαλλομένω ποδί]" (5.2). They declare to themselves:

> With torches in our hands let us go out to meet Christ as he comes from the grave like a bridegroom, and with the festive ranks of Angels, let us together feast God's saving Passover.[27]

This stanza refigures the singers' own ritual movement, their candlelight procession into the church at the opening of the Easter Morning Prayer, already attested in the seventh-century Georgian version of the liturgy at Jerusalem, not as a movement inward into the architectural space but as a procession toward the Holy Sepulcher, encountering Christ, as did the apostles, while on the road.[28] We might speculate about the effects of such a procession in the architectural context of the Church of the Anastasis at the hymn's first performance as the congregation approached the Anastasis rotunda and the aedicule containing the empty tomb. But perhaps by the time the hymn was sung, such a procession had already occurred.[29]

Within the language of the hymn, the congregants process as the Church itself, toward Christ the Bridegroom and their own wedding with him. Their mood should match those of the angels whose movements and voices they have joined. The sixth ode may even clarify the goal of their travels: Christ has harrowed "the deepest parts of the earth," and "shattered the everlasting bars of those that were fettered" (6.1), now he has "opened to us the gates of Paradise" (6.2). In any case, the rejoicing at the promise of salvation that the hymn encourages from its singers is well underway. As the ninth ode declares, "You have truly promised that you will be with us unto the end of time, O Christ. And we the faithful rejoice" (9.2). The command to feast in Ode 7 carried additional meaning: the hymn's performance expressed elation in the Easter feasting, the first taste of meat, fish, or eggs in eight weeks, an alimentary marker as liturgical as the service itself. The festal meal is thus framed by and elicits commands to joy. If, as seems most likely, the fast had already been broken with fish and eggs after the Easter Vigil, the rejoicing carried forward into the hymn. Meat, however, may have been reserved for the feast after the Divine Liturgy on Easter, in which case the hymn would also look forward in prospective delight.[30]

Why all the stage directions, the instructions for proper interior comportment and outward expression in the time of celebration? What is it about the liturgy that performs emotional states by describing them, naming the sentiments, and commanding them with imperative verbs even as they are experienced? The singers even give instruction to the cosmic choir and the whole creation and in doing so evoke the similar emotive rhetoric of the Psalter. The last stanza of the first ode calls out,

> Let the heavens, as is fitting, rejoice [εὐφραινέσθωσαν], and let the earth be glad [ἀγαλλιάσθω]. Let the whole world, both seen and unseen, keep the feast: for Christ has risen, our eternal gladness [εὐφροσύνη].[31]

The poet quotes Psalm 95 [96]:11, "Let the heavens rejoice and let the earth be glad," a hymn that starts reflexively with a self-directed second person plural imperative, "Sing [Ἄισατε] to the Lord a new song!" (Ps 95 [96]:1). The Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem, reflecting fifth- to eighth-century practice, assigns Psalm 95 to the litany of the Easter Vigil, in essence demanding a new song, or a new emotion, to follow. Curiously, in the *Paschal Kanon*, the risen Christ himself embodies this emotion; he *is* the "eternal gladness."[32] Later the singers encourage

cosmic participation in the song itself, "Let all creation sing Christ's rising [τὴν ἔγερσιν Χριστοῦ]" (3.2). In the fourth ode, the hymn calls on the prophet Avvakoum [Habakkuk] to point out the approaching and radiant angel, "who with resounding voice [διαπρυσίως: also, piercing] declares, 'Today is salvation for the world; for Christ is risen [ἀνέστη Χριστός] as omnipotent'" (4.1). The specificity about the angel's vocal quality offers the singers a dynamic marking of their own. The angel's words reinforce the festal script with a variant of the Easter greeting.[33] It is a very noisy morning.

The rhetoric of the *Paschal Kanon* engages in the management of emotion by calling others to share in the emotion: joy, gladness, exultation. The text presents buoyant happiness, even merriment, as thoroughly apt, and imagines an aural context, a massive soundscape, where Christians, heavens, earth, and angels sing together, rejoicing not only at Christ's but also at the singers' command. If you weren't in the mood, you might find this hymn remarkably bossy. But of course you are in the mood, and right on schedule. Within the practice of Christianity, affect has a calendar. Emotions shift dramatically from Holy Week with its progression of dread, guilt, and grief, to Easter with its ecstatic joy. Easter Morning Prayer provides a moment to feel in this new way. The poet himself remarks on this shift, forming the speaker as a participant with Christ in the transformation of fortunes:

> Yesterday I was buried with you O Christ, today I rise with you as you arise. Yesterday I was crucified with you; glorify me with you, Savior, in your Kingdom.[34]

The verse assimilates the singers with the biblical thief, crucified next to Christ who called out to be remembered in his Kingdom (Lk 23:43).[35] The shift from death to the promise of eternal life, however, could hardly have been a surprise. Through the whole of Lent the congregation had been reminded regularly that their ordeal – and more importantly Christ's – led to the triumph of the resurrection.

Does the congregation really need to be told, or is the telling part of the emoting? Indeed, the hymn expects that the transmission of affect is internal to the affect itself and that the affect can be conveyed, perhaps even principally, in the call to others to share in it. Thus the emotional rhetoric of the hymn is oddly reflexive, even pleonastic. It expresses emotion by commanding it. Telling people to rejoice is part of how one rejoices. In the context of the choral singing of the *Kanon Hymn*, who actually hears the command? Is it the soul, bifurcated from the speaking "I" within the self and thus a subject of imperative address, as in the psalmic phrase, "Praise the Lord, O my soul" [Ps 103:1]?[36] We might ask, with Talal Asad, who is this performance for?[37] The participant? The *Paschal Kanon* forms its singers as self-directing actors providing them not only with their script but also with their blocking and their motivation.

A brief excursus on rhetoric

To this point I have described the hymnographer's technique for performing and conveying emotions as rhetoric. While I am not claiming that the author of the

Paschal Kanon had a classical rhetorical education (although he surely could have), consideration of late antique and Byzantine rhetorical handbooks provides perspectives on implicit indigenous theories about how liturgical compositions might be thought to work. Many Byzantine hymns engage in ethopoeia (ἠθοποιία), which the fourth-century Aphthonios the Sophist, a student of Libanios, defined as the "imitation [μίμησις] of the character [ἦθος] of a proposed speaker."[38] In his *Progymnasmata*, or preliminary rhetorical exercises, he emphasized that one aspect of this characterization was "pathetical," that is, "showing emotion [πάθος] in everything."[39] Aphthonios's exercises became a standard textbook. A less widely disseminated work of the fifth-century Nikolaos the Sophist offers insight into preferences regarding style in the characterization of affect. He stressed that the expression [ἀπαγγελία] of keen emotions "should be in rather short phrases, and as it were natural, not in full periods; for to be fussy about style is alien to emotion, and it is characteristic of those in joy and grief [χαιρόντων καὶ θρηνούντων] to say one thing after another, concisely [συντόμως], and in few words."[40] Such a direct and concise style typifies the *Paschal Kanon*, which expresses joy in short phrases and relatively simple images.

The placement of the *Paschal Kanon* within the late ancient Jerusalem Easter liturgy further illuminates its rhetorical function. According to the witness of the Ancient Iadgari, one of the last hymns sung during the Easter Vigil was a short troparion, or versicle, of unknown authorship and likely very early date.[41]

> Christ has risen from the dead [Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν],
> by death he has trampled death,
> and to those in the graves he has given life.[42]

This *Paschal Troparion*, already in use in the fifth or sixth century, rendered the Easter declaration in song and elaborated on its substance. Peter Jeffery's reconstruction of the shape of its original and simple melody suggests options for a spirited performance.[43] Its text, however, lacks any explicitly emotional vocabulary. It is an assertion, not a reaction. Moreover, evidence indicates that at the end of the Vigil, the congregation exited the Church of the Anastasis, and the doors were locked until it was time for Morning Prayer on Easter.[44] When a hymnographer in seventh-century Jerusalem wrote the *Paschal Kanon*, "The Day of Resurrection," as the principal hymn for the pursuant office of Morning Prayer, he provided a text to characterize an appropriate emotional response to the Easter declaration, an ethopoeia of the Christian rejoicing at the news of the resurrection. The rise of the kanon as a new hymnographic form demanded a new composition to express overwhelming joy.

Performance at the Stoudios Monastery

At the turn of the ninth century, a certain Theodore and his brother Joseph returned to Constantinople from a monastery on their family's land at Sakkoudion in Bithynia. In the previous decades this monastery had absorbed refugees from

the communities of the Judean desert and had begun to meld the liturgical traditions of the monasteries around Jerusalem with those of the capital. Theodore became the abbot of a reestablished monastery of St. John the Forerunner in Constantinople that had been originally founded by a certain Stoudios in the fifth century. Together with his brother Joseph and other members of the community, Theodore set about to reform the Byzantine monastic liturgy.[45] A record of performance practice of the *Paschal Kanon* at the Stoudios Monastery survives in a Greek manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth century containing the monastery's typikon, or rule. This recension, however, clearly reflects the traditions of the monastery in the decades after Theodore's death in 826. We can supplement our understanding of the Easter Morning Prayer service it describes with the help of the eleventh-century *Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis* on the outskirts of Constantinople, which developed Stoudite practices.[46] It is not entirely clear to what extent Stoudite practice replicated an existing order of service from Jerusalem or to what extent the Hagiopolite service had already influenced liturgical practice for Easter in the capital before Theodore's reforms.

The *Typikon of the Monastery of St. John Stoudios* attests the shape of the Easter service of Morning Prayer in ninth-century Constantinople and the centrality of the *Paschal Kanon* in the rite.[47] According to the rule's second chapter, after the ninth hour of the night (some hours before first light), the monastery's *kanonarch*, or precentor, should rise and sound the wooden gong to rouse the monks to assemble in the narthex of the church. (We can gather from later sources that after the Easter Vigil earlier that night and a meal, likely of fish and eggs, the monks had retired to their cells for sleep.)[48] At the opening of Morning Prayer, the superior, priests, and deacons entered the church. A thurifer censed the entire church, including the brothers. After proclaiming the doxology ("Glory to the holy, consubstantial, life-giving Trinity, now and always"), a priest began the *Paschal Troparion*, "Christ has risen from the dead [Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν]."[49] We note that this practice shifted the troparion from the end of the Jerusalem cathedral Easter Vigil (as attested in the Iadgari) to the beginning of Constantinopolitan monastic Morning Prayer. The brothers took up the repetition of that hymn as they processed into the naos of the church. Then the priest intoned verses from Ps 117 [118]:24–27, "This is the day which the Lord has made, / let us rejoice and be glad in it."[50] The *Paschal Troparion* then served as a versicle intercalated between each psalm verse. As we have seen, the troparion itself contains the Easter announcement but no specifically affective vocabulary. The psalm, however, invited an emotional response. In effect, our *Paschal Kanon*, which followed soon after, both defined and executed the authorized reaction to this announcement and invitation.

First, the priest (or perhaps the superior or cantor) sang the opening of the First Canticle from Exodus 15, "Let us sing to the Lord." "And immediately," says the typikon, "'*The Day of Resurrection* [that is, the *Paschal Kanon*].'"[51] While it is unclear in the text, the singing was almost certainly choral in a manner already attested in a late eighth-century typikon from a monastery on the island of Pantelleria, southwest of Sicily. Here, after singing the model tune, or irmos, for each

ode, the kanonarch spoke the words of each sense unit like a prompter, aurally providing the text for the monks to fit to the melody.[52] In such a performance style, the words of the kanon became the words of each monk. In effect the text reflected collective emotions. According to the Stoudite rule, the progress of the kanon was interrupted twice, first by a reading or intoning of a sermon and second by the singing of another hymn form, a truncated version of a kontakion.

The Stoudite rubric assigns the reading of a short Paschal sermon by Gregory of Nazianzos (Oration 1) at a point unspecified, although probably after the third ode, as later practice attests. We note that this is precisely the sermon from which the author of the *Paschal Kanon* drew a number of phrases and images. While we cannot know whether the original intention of the hymnographer was for his *Kanon* to be reinforced by Gregory's prose text, the Stoudite practice certainly coordinates a hymn and the closely related sermon. Since the sermon was read by a single monk, the *Kanon* served as a collective choral enactment of its prescriptions. An eleventh-century version of the rule, attributed to Alexios the Stoudite and disseminated widely in the Slavic oikoumene, indicates the reading also of Gregory's longer Easter sermon, Oration 45, from which the *Paschal Kanon* also draws.[53]

The Stoudite typikon indicates that a kontakion be sung after the sixth ode, the second interpolation into the sequence of the kanon hymn. At some point it had become the general custom to chant the prelude and first strophe of a kontakion, often by Romanos the Melodist, between the sixth and seventh odes of the kanon hymn. It is unclear whether this practice originated in Jerusalem or developed first in Constantinople as a Stoudite innovation. Since the kontakion was part of the nonmonastic cathedral vigil, the insertion assimilated part of the secular Night Vigil into monastic Morning Prayer.[54] The thirteenth- or fourteenth-century witness to the Stoudite rule seems to specify a kontakion entitled *Having Seen Christ's Resurrection*. This is surely a mistake. *Having Seen Christ's Resurrection* is in fact a shorter hymn, or sticheron, well known from other rubrics for the Easter Morning Prayer service.[55] I suspect that the correct order – in line with later practice – was to sing a kontakion after the sixth ode, to resume the kanon, and when the kanon was finished to sing this sticheron, to be followed by the penitential Psalm 50, the most penitential of psalms, recited regularly at morning prayer and indicated even here, on the most festive day of the calendar.[56] After Psalm 50, "the service of matins is dismissed," although more services and ritualizing, beyond the scope of this paper, began immediately.[57]

Later rubrics in fact indicate an Easter hymn by Romanos the Melodist or, rather, a truncation of the text consisting of the prelude and first strophe.[58] These parts of the original kontakion focus on the Easter declaration and the myrrhbearing women. Romanos similarly integrates the biblical narrative and an emotional response already in his prelude:

> Though you descended into the tomb, O Immortal,
> yet you destroyed the power of hell,
> and you arose as victor, O Christ, God,

calling to the myrrh-bearing women, "Rejoice!" [τὸ "χαῖρε" φθεγξάμενος][59]
and giving peace [εἰρήνην] to your apostles, O you
who grant resurrection to the fallen.[60]

Romanos grounds the call to rejoice on Easter in the narrative moment when Christ greeted the Marys with the word "Rejoice!" (Mt 28:9). Jesus further instructs them to tell the disciples, thus authorizing the transmission of the news and the appropriate affect. While the myrrhbearing women serve as types for the congregation's elation, the apostles provide models for a graceful calm. As is typical in his works, Romanos calls on more than one Gospel tradition, alluding also to the risen Jesus' greeting to the apostles in the house where they had locked themselves according to the Gospel of John: "Peace be with you [εἰρήνη ὑμῖν]" (Jn 20:19); and to his promise during the Last Supper to give them peace (Jn 14:27). Exuberant rejoicing and peaceful calm, far from contradicting each other, seem to require integration.

The initial strophe of the kontakion, which follows immediately in the Morning Prayer service, further explores the scene at the first Easter:

To the Sun who was before the sun and yet had set in a tomb,
myrrh-bearing maidens hastened towards dawn,
seeking him as the day, and they cried to one another:
"Friends, come, let us anoint with spices
the life-bearing yet buried body,
the flesh which raises fallen Adam and now lies in the grave.
Come, let us hurry, like the magi
let us adore and let us offer
sweet spices as gifts to the One who is now wrapped,
not in swaddling clothes, but in a shroud.
Let us weep and let us cry, 'Be roused, Master,
who grant resurrection to the fallen.'" *(29.1)*

Both Romanos and the *Paschal Kanon* draw on the same lectionary base, although Romanos went farther in harmonizing the divergent Gospel accounts.[61] For Romanos, the myrrhbearing women at the tomb recall the myrrhbearing Magi at the crèche, both types for the congregation approaching Christ. Romanos's hymns circulated widely in the sixth and seventh centuries and became canonical, at least in Constantinople, by the seventh century.[62] We do not know whether this hymn was in use in Jerusalem and its environs when the kanon was composed or whether the original performance of the *Kanon* included these extracts from Romanos's kontakion, although this is possible. In ninth-century Constantinople, Romanos's kontakion would have been performed in its entirety in the so-called cathedral liturgy of secular parishes. So an early Stoudite congregation would likely have had the entire kontakion in mind when they sang a truncated extract during Morning Prayer. Such practice would allow the two compositions

to enhance and comment on each other. The identification with the myrrhbearers, who figure prominently in the kanon's seventh ode, would be strengthened by hearing the kontakion immediately before. Together, the hymns would insert the congregation into the narrative alongside the first witnesses to Christ's rising.

The return to ordinary time

The joys of Easter lingered, even as they moderated and clergy once again encouraged repentance. The weekly Sunday Vigil at the Church of the Anastasis celebrating the resurrection spread to Armenia, Georgia, and Byzantium.[63] The Georgian Iadgari attests an elaborate cycle of hymns on the theme of the resurrection to be chanted from Pentecost to Lent.[64] But in a catechetical lecture delivered after Easter, perhaps even in the week, or Octave, of Easter, Theodore the Stoudite already called his ninth-century monks to mixed emotions.

> Brothers and fathers, Pascha is gone by and the feast has been completed, but rejoicing and feasting, should we wish, have by no means gone by, for we are always allowed to rejoice and feast spiritually, in accordance with the saying of Scripture, "Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say rejoice! [Phil 4:4]."[65]

Even so, Theodore bids his monks to "keep fresh the memory of the sufferings" of their savior, to recall his crucifixion, death, and resurrection. Participating in his death, the monks should be "corpses to the world but alive to God." He stresses that after Easter, "we must be watchful and awake, pray to be stirred to compunction, weep and be illuminated, always 'bearing in our bodies the death of the Lord Jesus' [2 Cor 4:10], dying each day by choice." Despite the joy of the recent festivities, Theodore underscores the primary disposition for Christians: "It is always Lent for the watchful."[66] Easter disrupts the normative penitential affect of Christian life, and this is the work, in part, of the Easter hymnography.

This discussion has opened questions about how we might assess the emotional repertoire of Byzantine Orthodox liturgy though the consideration of a single hymn, the seventh-century *Paschal Kanon*, and its intertextual relationship with other hymns and readings in a documented performance rubric. Byzantine clergy, hymnographers, and congregations relied on the capacity of liturgy both to express and cue affective responses to the liturgical cycle and the lectionary system. Missing from this discussion, and perhaps as critical as the texts for conveying emotion, are the melodies to which these chants were sung. Unfortunately, the original music for these pieces remains beyond the reach of scholarship. Early manuscripts convey the texts without musical notation and indicate model melodies about which we cannot be certain. The earliest notational systems both for Greek and Georgian remain undeciphered. Musicologists can reconstruct the sound of these hymns in the eleventh century, but this places us beyond the periods under discussion. For our purposes, the emotions are the product of the

rhetorical work of the texts. The ubiquitous emotional imperatives and the strategy to deploy them derived from the Psalms, which already commanded speakers and listeners to weep! rejoice! sing! or come and see! The replication of these commands in liturgical hymnography represents discrete choices on the part of liturgists to demand and cultivate emotional responses. It also reveals an indigenous Byzantine theory of the relationship between liturgy and affect. Byzantine Christians expected liturgical performances to transmit appropriate feelings and dispositions.

Notes

1 *On Adam's Lament*, in Paul Maas, ed., *Frühbyzantinische Kirchenpoesie: I. Anonyme Hymnen des V–VI Jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1931), 16–20. Trans. Ephrem Lash, <http://www.anastasis.org.uk/adam's_lament.htm>; Derek Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects: Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 10. I am especially grateful to Dimitrios Skrekas for his remarks and corrections on an earlier draft. I regret that I could not follow up on all his suggestions for expanding the scope of this inquiry.

2 Christopher, *On the Transgression of Adam*, in *Triōdion katanyktikon: Periechon apasan tēn anēkousan autō akolouthian tēs hagias kai megalēs tessarakostēs [Τριῴδιον κατανυκτικόν, περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν αὐτῷ ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης Τεσσαρακοστῆς]* (Rome: 1879), 102–07; my trans. See Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 166, 186–91.

3 For full references, see Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 190, 258n87.

4 Romanos the Melodist, *On the Passion of Christ*, ed. Paul Maas and C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica Genuina* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) [hereafter: Romanos, *Hymns*] 20.1).

5 *Paschal Kanon*, in *Pentēkostarion charmosynon periechon tēn apo tou Pascha mechri tēs tōn Hagiōn Pantōn Kyriakēs anēkousan autō akolouthian [Πεντηκοστάριον χαρμόσυνον την από του Πάσχα μέχρι της των Αγίων Πάντων Κυριακής ανήκουσας αυτώ Ακολουθίαν]* (Athens: Saliveros, 1916), 2–5; trans. Ephrem Lash, <http://www.anastasis.org.uk/PaschaCan.htm>. The odes are numbered 1 and 3–9, since there is no ode corresponding to the second canticle. I have numbered the stanzas, or troparia, sequentially within each ode. For an earlier study, see Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 206–22.

6 Historical and theoretical work on the emotions burgeons. I have found the following helpful: Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); John Corrigan, ed., *Religion and Emotion: Approaches and Interpretations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Teresa Brennan, *The Transmission of Affect* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004); Martin Hinterberger, "Emotions in Byzantium," in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 123–34. For biblical and comparative Rabbinic material see Gary A. Anderson, *A Time to Mourn, a Time to Dance: The Expression of Grief and Joy in Israelite Religion* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991). See also Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 167–68.

7 For a similar emotional experience later in the liturgical calendar, see Georgia Frank, "Sensing Ascension in Early Byzantium," in *Experiencing Byzantium: Papers from the 30th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Claire Nesbitt and Mark P.C. Jackson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 293–310.

8 *Pentēkostarion*, 2–4.

9 For the earliest Greek witness, see Aleksandra Nikiforova, *Iz istorii Minei v Vizantii: gimnograficheskie pamjatniki VIII–XII vv. iz sobranija monastyrja svjatoj Ekateriny na Sinae* (Moscow: Izd-vo PSTGU, 2012), 220 (rubric 40.1); Aleksandra Nikiforova, "The Tropologion Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 56–5 of the Ninth Century: A New Source for Byzantine Hymnography," *Scripta & e-scripta* 12 (2013): 178; Paul Géhin and Stig Frøyshov, "Nouvelles découvertes sinaïtiques: à propos de la parution de l'inventaire des manuscrits grecs," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 58 (2000): 178–79; Georgi R. Parpulov, "The Greek and Latin Manuscripts of Mount Sinai and the Scholarly World," in *St Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai: Its Manuscripts and Their Conservation*, ed. Cyril Mango, Marlia Mango, and Earleen Brunner (London: Saint Catherine Foundation, 2011), 40. For earlier sections of the manuscript, see Tinatin Chronz and Alexandra Nikiforova, "Beobachtungen zum ältesten bekannten Tropologion-Codex Sinaiticus graecus MΓ 56+5 des 8.–9. Jhs. mit Erstedition ausgewählter Abschnitte," in *Synaxis katholikē: Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag. 1*, ed. Diliana Atanassova and Heinzgerd Brakmann (Vienna: Lit-Verlag, 2014), 145–74. For other works attributed to John of Damascus in the manuscript, see Dimitrios Skrekas, *Studies in the Iambic Canons Attributed to John of Damascus: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary* (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 2008). Sinai Gr. NE MΓ 56 contains only a small number hymns for Christmas. John of Damascus was later regarded to have been a monk of the Monastery of Mar Saba, but scholarly inquiry has demonstrated otherwise. See Marie-France Auzépy, "De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIII–IXe siècles): Etienne le sabaïte et Jean Damascène," *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994): 183–218; Michel van Esbroeck, "Le discours de Jean Damascène pour la Dédicace de l'Anastasis," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 63 (1997): 53–98; Alexander Kazhdan and Stephen Gerö, "Kosmas of Jerusalem: A More Critical Approach to His Biography," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 82 (1989): 122–32; Andrew Louth, *St John Damascene: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 6–7.

10 Stig Simeon R. Frøyshov, "The Georgian Witness to the Jerusalem Liturgy: New Sources and Studies," in *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship: Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Rome, 17–21 September 2008*, ed. Bert Groen, Steven Hawkes-Teeples, and Stefanos Alexopoulos (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 237. For caution about the received attribution to John of Damascus, see A. Lossky, "La canon des matines paschales byzantines: ses sources bibliques et patristiques," in *L'hymnographie: Conférences Saint-Serge, XLVIe Semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris, 29 juin-2 juillet 1999*, ed. A. M. Triacca and A. Pistoia (Roma: C.L.V.-Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), 257. Indeed the opening words of the ninth ode of the *Kanon* would seem to appear in the rubrics for Easter morning as a troparion or versicle in manuscripts of the Ancient Iadgari, the hymnal, or tropologion, of the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem in Georgian translation. Here they appear without attribution. Since the Georgian Iadgari gives witness to the liturgy of Jerusalem in the seventh century, the composition of the hymn may, in fact, predate John's *floruit*. See the edition of Korneli Kekelidze, *Ierusalimskij kanonar' VII veka: gruzinskaja versija* (Tbilisi: Skoropechat S.M. Losaberidze, 1912). Part of this volume is translated with an introduction in Theodor Kluge and Anton Baumstark, "Quadragesima und Karwoche Jerusalems in siebten Jahrhundert," *Oriens Christianus* 5 (1915): 201–33; the relevant verse appears on 231–32. See also Charles Renoux, *L'hymnaire de Saint-Sabas, Ve–VIIIe siècle. I, Du samedi de Lazare à la Pentecôte: Le manuscrit géorgien H 2123*, *PO* 50.1 (Rome: Institut pontifical oriental de Rome, 2008), 404. But this question is itself vexed. The Ancient Iadgari manuscripts quote only the irmos, or model stanza, of the ninth ode, which in Greek is "Φωτίζου, φωτίζου, ἡ νέα Ἱερουσαλήμ," "Shine, shine, O new Jerusalem." While this could be from the *Paschal*

Kanon attributed to John of Damascus, it could also be a preexistent verse that the author of the *Paschal Kanon* incorporated into the longer hymn. It is also a quotation or paraphrase of Is 61:1 [LXX 60:1] and thus could simply be a troparion, or versicle, based on the biblical verse. The verse would also become part of the Megalynarion, or Magnification, sequence for Easter, chanted after the rest of the *Paschal Kanon*. See Lossky, "Les canon de matines paschales," 262n21. The verse also later became part of a series of resurrection troparia said secretly by the deacon or priest while cleaning the remainder of the eucharistic bread into the chalice. Robert F. Taft, *The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites*, A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom 6, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 281 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2008), 476–77. For the broader perspective on the importance of the Ancient Iadgari, see the French résumé in *Udzvelesi Iadgari*, ed. Elene Metreveli, C. Čankievi, and Lili Hevsuriani (Tbilisi: Mecniereba, 1980), 930–38; Andrew Wade, "The Oldest *Iadgari*: The Jerusalem Tropologion, V–VIIIc.," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 50 (1984): 451–56; Andrew Wade, "The Oldest *Iadgari*: The Jerusalem Tropologion – 4th to 8th Centuries, 30 Years after the Publication," in *Synaxis katholikē: Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag. 2*, ed. Diliana Atanassova and Tinatin Chronz (Vienna: Lit-Verlag, 2014), 717–50; Peter Jeffery, "The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered: The Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994): 1–38.

11 *Paschal Kanon*, 8.2: Δεῦτε τοῦ κανοῦ τῆς ἀμπέλου γεννήματος τῆς θείας εὐφροσύνης, ἐν τῇ εὐσήμῳ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐγέρσεως, βασιλείας τε Χριστοῦ κοινωνήσωμεν, ὑμνοῦντες αὐτόν, ὡς Θεόν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. I have employed Lash's translation throughout, occasionally modified.

12 Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1993), 198–99, 277–83. A text known as the *Narration of the Abbots John [Moschos] and Sophronios* attests the practice in late sixth-century Palestine of chanting the cycle of canticles at monastic Morning Prayer. See Augusta Longo, "Il testo integrale della *Narrazione degli abati Giovanni e Sofronio* attraverso le *Hermêneiai* di Nicone," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 12–13 (1965–1966): 251–52.

13 A new critical history of the kanon would be useful. The classic treatment remains Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine*, 198–239. On the emergence of the kanon form, see José Grosdidier de Matons, "Liturgie et hymnographie: Kontakion et canon," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81): 31–43; Andrew Louth, "Christian Hymnography from Romanos the Melodist to John Damascene," *JECS* 57 (2005): 195–206; Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 130–33, 138–43.

14 Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 132–33.

15 Gabriel Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church*, OCA 193 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1972), 7–105.

16 For the text of the Typikon of the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople, see Aleksei Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rykopisei*, Vol. 1, *Typika* (Kiev, 1895), 1:224–38. A second recension appears in PG 99:1704–20. For an English translation of both recensions by Timothy Miller with commentary, see John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, eds., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders'* Typika *and Testaments* [hereafter *BMFD*], 5 vols. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 1:84–119. For the broader history of Stoudite tradition and its influence on subsequent monastic practice for Easter, see Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 163–228.

17 For an account of the received tradition from the Easter Vigil through the Divine Liturgy, see Job Getcha, *The Typikon Decoded*, trans. Paul Meyendorff (Yonkers, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2012), 227–37.

18 Much of the scholarship on the kanon has been source-critical. See Lossky, "La canon des matines paschales"; Louth, *St John Damascene*, 258–68; Ferdinand Gahbauer, "Der Osterkanon des Johannes von Damaskos: Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 106 (1995): 133–74; Ephrem Lash, "The Paschal Canon with Notes," <http://www.anastasis.org.uk/Paschal%20Canon%20Noted.pdf>. Louth and Lash are both indebted to the work of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century monastic scholar Nikodemos the Hagiorite (1749–1809), also known as Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain, first published in 1836: Nikodemos Agiorites, *Eortodromion: ētoi ermēneia eis tous admatikous kanonas tōn despotikōn kai theomētorikōn eortōn* (Athens: Spanos, 1961). For an English translation of a portion of that work, see St. Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain, "Commentary on the Easter Canon (Excerpts)," trans. Elizabeth Theokritoff, *Sourozh* 71 (1998): 40–49.

19 For the insertion of the sermon in the received tradition, see Getcha, *Typikon Decoded*, 235 and *Pentēkostarion*, 5–6. The evidence for Jerusalem suggests the intercalation of a hypakoe, a troparion, as in Jerusalem Stavrou 43 and in current usage. See Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 94.

20 *Paschal Kanon*, 1.1: Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα λαμπρυνθῶμεν Λαοί, Πάσχα Κυρίου, Πάσχα, ἐκ γὰρ θανάτου πρὸς ζωήν, καὶ ἐκ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανόν, Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός, ἡμᾶς διεβίβασεν, ἐπινίκιον ἄδοντας.

21 *Paschal Kanon* 1.2: Καθαρθῶμεν τὰς αἰσθήσεις, καὶ ὀψόμεθα, τῷ ἀπροσίτῳ φωτὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, Χριστὸν ἐξαστράπτοντα, καί, Χαίρετε, φάσκοντα, τρανῶς ἀκουσόμεθα, ἐπινίκιον ἄδοντες.

22 "The unapproachable light" (1 Tim 6:16) recalls the refrain of Romanos's *On the Holy Theophany* (Romanos, *Hymns* 5).

23 *Paschal Kanon* 9.1: Φωτίζου, φωτίζου, ἡ νέα Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ γὰρ δόξα Κυρίου ἐπὶ σὲ ἀνέτειλε, Χόρευε νῦν, καὶ ἀγάλλου Σιών, σὺ δὲ ἁγνή, τέρπου Θεοτόκε, ἐν τῇ ἐγέρσει τοῦ τόκου σου.

24 The Armenian witness to the fifth-century lectionary of Jerusalem assigns Mk 15:42–16:8 to the Easter morning service at the Holy Sepulcher. Athanase Renoux, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121* [hereafter AL], 2 vols., *PO* 163, 168 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969–1971), lection 45. The Georgian witness, reflecting developments to the eighth century, assigns Mk 16:1–8 to the Divine Liturgy on Easter Sunday. Michel Tarchnischvili, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem (Ve–VIIIe siécle)* [hereafter GL] 4 vols., CSCO 188, 189, 204, 205; Scriptores Iberici 9, 10, 13, 14 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1959–1960), lection 749. Lk 24:1ff. was appointed variously in the Jerusalem lectionaries to Easter Sunday or Easter Monday; see AL lection 46; GL lections 756c, 757. The resurrection accounts in Matthew 28 and John 20 were read during the Divine Liturgy at the end of the Easter Vigil; GL 739, 742. On these troparia, see also Gahbauer, "Das Osterkanon," 163–64.

25 Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 94–95; Valerie Kallas, "The Liturgical Functions of Consecrated Women in the Byzantine Church," *Theological Studies* 66 (2005): 109–14.

26 *Pashcal Kanon* 7.2: Γυναῖκες μετὰ μύρων θεόφρονες, ὀπίσω σου ἔδραμον, ὃν δὲ ὡς θνητόν, μετὰ δακρύων ἐζήτουν, προσεκύνησαν χαίρουσαι ζῶντα Θεόν, καὶ Πάσχα τὸ μυστικὸν σοῖς Χριστὲ Μαθηταῖς εὐηγγελίσαντο.

27 *Paschal Kanon* 5.3: Προσέλθωμεν λαμπαδηφόροι, τῷ προϊόντι Χριστῷ ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος, ὡς νυμφίῳ, καὶ συνεορτάσωμεν ταὶς φιλεόρτοις τάξεσι, Πάσχα Θεοῦ τὸ σωτήριον.

28 Kluge and Baumstark, "Quadragesima und Karwoche," 231. On the location of the Vigil and the lighting of candles with reference to Egeria and Armenian and Georgian witnesses, see Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 22–39, 56–58.

29 Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 94–105 does not discuss the place of the kanon within the ritual movement of the service. On the evidence for

Easter celebrations in Jerusalem, see John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 69, 78. For broader perspective, see Daniel Galadza, "Sources for the Study of Liturgy in Post-Byzantine Jerusalem (638–1187 CE)," *DOP* 67 (2013): 75–94.

30 For rubrics regarding the meal between the Easter Vigil and Orthros in the Stoudite tradition, see Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 190–91. On the rubrics for fasting, see Getcha, *Typikon Decoded*, 229.

31 *Paschal Kanon* 1.3: Οὐρανοὶ μὲν ἐπαξίως εὐφραινέσθωσαν, γῆ δὲ ἀγαλλιάσθω, ἑορταζέτω δὲ κόσμος, ὁρατός τε ἅπας καὶ ἀόρατος, Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐγήγερται, εὐφροσύνη αἰώνιος.

32 On Christ as "feast day" and "gladness" in other texts, see the insights of Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain, "Commentary on the Easter Canon," 45.

33 The speech alters the angel's declaration at the empty tomb (Mk 16:6: ἠγέρθη; cf. Mt 28:6; Lk 24:6; see also 1 Cor 15:20) to conform to the wording of the ancient liturgical Easter greeting already found in the *Paschal Troparion*; *Pentēkostarion*, 1.

34 *Paschal Kanon* 3.3: Χθὲς συνεθαπτόμην σοὶ Χριστέ συνεγείρομαι σήμερον ἀναστάντι σοί, συνεσταυρούμην σοὶ χθές αὐτὸς μὲ συνδόξασον Σωτήρ, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου. Here, as Nikodemos and Louth (*St. John Damascene*, 261–62) have observed, John follows a sermon of Gregory of Nazianzos but reverses the order of the crucifixion and the burial.

35 For the thief as a persona of the Byzantine liturgy, see Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 1–3, 151–52.

36 On the bifurcation of the soul in Byzantine hymnography for Lent, see Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 131, 134–38.

37 Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 140.

38 Aphthonios, *Progymnasmata* 11 (ed. Hugo Rabe, Rhetores Graeci 10 [Leipzig: Teubner, 1926]); George A. Kennedy, trans., *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 115.

39 Aphthonios, *Progymnasmata* 11; trans. Kennedy, 116.

40 Nikolaos the Sophist, *Progymnasmata* 11 (ed. Joseph Felton [Leipzig: Teubner, 1913]; trans. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 165–66). In the ninth century, John of Sardis paraphrased this passage in his *Commentary on the Progymnasmata of Aphthonios*, 11 (ed. Hugo Rabe [Leipzig: Teubner 1928]; see Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 217.

41 Kluge and Baumstark, "Quadragesima und Karwoche," 233; *Udzvelesi Iadgari*, ed. Metreveli, 215 (ll. 11–12), 649; Wade, "The Oldest *Iadgari*, 30 Years after," 739; Renoux, *L'hymnaire de Saint-Sabas, Ve–VIIe siècle. I*, 406. Hilarion Alfeyev (*Christ the Conqueror of Hell: The Descent into Hades from an Orthodox Perspective* [Crestwood, N.Y: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2009], 34) suggests, rather ambitiously, a second-century date. The first line of the hymn paraphrases from 1 Cor 15:20. For the hymn's use in the nonmonastic cathedral liturgy of Constantinople, see the *Typikon of the Great Church*, attesting practice at Hagia Sophia in the tenth century; *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, ed. Juan Mateos, 2 vols., OCA 165, 166 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1962–63), 2:94–95.

42 *Pentēkostarion*, 1: Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι, ζωὴν χαρισάμενος. For this hymn with an odd variant for Christmas, see Daniel Galadza's essay in this volume.

43 Jeffery, "Earliest Christian Chant," 16–21.

44 Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 21–22. I do not understand the schema endorsed by Gahbauer ("Der Osterkanon," 134), which assigns the *Kanon* to the Easter Vigil. The order he describes is clearly the Easter Morning Prayer service.

45 Thomas Pott, *Byzantine Liturgical Reform: A Study of Liturgical Change in the Byzantine Tradition*, trans. Paul Meyendorff (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary

Press, 2010), 115–51. For Theodore's life, see Thomas Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites (759–826): Zwischen Dogma und Pragma*, Berliner Byzantinistische Studien 4 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998). For his thought, see Roman Cholij, *Theodore the Stoudite: The Ordering of Holiness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

46 *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: March–August, The Moveable Cycle*, ed. and trans. Robert H. Jordan, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 6.6 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2005).

47 *Stoudios A* 2. *BMFD* 98–99.

48 Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 194–95.

49 See also Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 197–201.

50 The *Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, 506–09, appoints additional verses: Ps 118 [117]:1, 4, 19. Later typika and modern practice also employ verses from Ps 68 [67]; Getcha, *Typikon Decoded*, 234.

51 *Stoudios Typicon A* 2, *BMFD* 1:99. See also Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter* Vigil, 202–04. The Evergetis *Synaxarion* omits the canticle; *Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, 508–09. We should note that the Stoudios Typikon does not name John of Damascus but rather cites the work by its opening words, while the Evergetis Typikon cites "the kanon of John the Monk." Furthermore, it is unclear in the text whether monks participate in the singing of the *Kanon*, although this would seem certain based on what we know of the performance practices for the kanon hymns elsewhere. Evergetis indicates antiphonal singing in a more elaborate performance, with the irmoi chanted four times each and the subsequent troparia six times each.

52 *Typikon of the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner on Pantelleria* 8–10 (ed. Ivan D. Mansvetov, *Tserkovnii ustav (tipik) ego obrazovanie i sudba v grečeskoi i russkoi tserkvi* [Moscow, 1885]; trans. *BMFD*, 1:63–64). Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 166–67.

53 Getcha, *Typikon Decoded*, 235. Lossky, "Les canon de matines paschales," 272–79. Compare *Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, 510–11 with two homilies, Gregory's *Oration* 1 and the "*Homily* on the Feast in the Panegyrikon." Stoudios *Typikon B* (BMFD 1:99) indicates two readings, apparently after the kanon, but it is unclear whether these are the sermons of Gregory. See also Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 167.

54 See the structure of the service according to the eleventh-century manuscript Jerusalem Stavrou 43 for a record of practice at the Church of the Anastasis; Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 94. It is unclear whether that manuscript attests a practice earlier than the Byzantinization of the Jerusalem liturgy, a long process in which the rites of the capital influenced Hagiopolite practice. On this process in general, see Daniel Galadza, *Worship of the Holy City in Captivity: The Liturgical Byzantinization of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem after the Arab Conquest (8th–13th c.)* (Ph.D. diss., Rome, Pontificium Institutum Orientale, 2013). Theodore himself composed full kontakia, presumably for the Night Vigil, although those attributed to him are considerably shorter than those of Romanos. In private correspondence, Alexander Lingas helpfully points out that "the prologues of Kontakia were already floating free as proper troparia equivalent in function to what are today called 'apolytikia' (and sometimes known in Jerusalem as 'katavasia'), appearing as such after the entrances of cathedral orthros (after Ps 50) and Divine Liturgy in the Typikon of the Great Church. The Typikon of the Anastasis [see Jerusalem Stavrou 43] also employs the prologues in this way." Lingas suggests that "[truncated] kontakia seem to have made their way into Jerusalem-style orthros as a kind of interlude at the soft points between groups of odes of the kanon/canticles," that is, after Odes 3 and 6. See also, Alexander Lingas, "The Liturgical Place of the Kontakion in Constantinople," in *Liturgy, Architecture, and Art in the Byzantine World: Papers of the XVIII International Byzantine Congress (Moscow, 8–15 August 1991) and Other Essays Dedicated to the Memory of Fr. John Meyendorff*, ed. Constantine C. Akentiev (St. Petersburg: Publications of the St. Petersburg Society for Byzantine and Slavic Studies, 1995), 50–57.

55 *Stoudios Typikon A* 2, *BMFD* 1:99. Compare *Pentēkostarion*, 7. For the siticheron *Having Seen Christ's Resurrection*, see also Taft, *The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites*, 476.
56 See the *Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, 513, with Romanos's kontakion *On the Resurrection VI* (compare Romanos, *Hymns* 29). Many later witnesses to monastic practice influenced by the Stoudios Monastery omit Ps 50. The Evergetis *Synaxarion* (510–11), for example, does so expicitly. Bertonière, *Historical Development of the Easter Vigil*, 203–04.
57 *Stoudios Typikon A* 2, *BMFD* 1:100–01.
58 Romanos the Melodist, *On the Resurrection VI* (Romanos, *Hymns* 29).
59 Thus the majority of manuscripts, but one witness and some Pentekostarions read φθεγξάμενος, Χαίρετε, restoring the biblical plural. Romanos, *Hymns*, 223; José Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes*, 5 vols. (Paris: Cerf, 1965–1981), 4:380.
60 Romanos, *Hymns* 29 prelude; trans. Ephrem Lash, *On the Life of Christ: Kontakia* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995), 167.
61 GL assigns Mt 28:1–20 to the Easter Vigil and Jn 20:1–18 to Morning Prayer (lections 739 and 742). Both accounts begin with the women's discovery of the empty tomb.
62 Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 65, 233n79–80.
63 Stig Simeon Frøyshov, "The Resurrection Office of the First Millenium Jerusalem Liturgy and Its Adoption by Close Peripheries," in *Studies on the Liturgies of the Christian East*: *Selected Paper of the Third International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Volos, May 26–30, 2010*, ed. Steven Hawkes-Teeples, Bert Groen, and Stefanos Alexopoulos, Eastern Christian Studies 18 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 31–57; Juan Mateos, "La vigil cathédrale chez Egérie," *OCP* 27 (1961): 281–312.
64 See the French translations from early Georgian manuscipts by Charles Renoux, *Les hymnes de la Résurrection. I, Hymnographie liturgique géorgienne: textes du Sinaï 18* (Paris: Cerf, 2000); Charles Renoux, *Les hymnes de la Résurrection. II, Hymnographie liturgique géorgienne: texte des manuscrits Sinaï 40, 41 et 34*, *PO* 52.1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); Charles Renoux, *Les hymnes de la Résurrection. III, Hymnographie liturgique géorgienne: introduction, traduction, annotation des manuscrits Sinaï 26 et 20 et index analytique des trois volumes*, *PO* 52.2 (Turhout: Brepols, 2010).
65 Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catecheses* 2, ed. Emmanuel Auvray, *Tou hosiou patros hēmōn kai homologētou Theodōrou hēgoumenou tōn Stoudiou Mikra katēchēsis = Sancti patris nostri et confessoris Theodori studitis praepositi Parva catechesis* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1891); trans. Ephrem Lash, <http://www.anastasis.org.uk/theodore.htm>.
66 Theodore the Stoudite, *Small Catecheses* 2.

8 Greek kanons and the Syrian Orthodox liturgy

Jack Tannous

A kanon is a type of Christian liturgical hymn that originated in Greek-speaking Chalcedonian circles in Palestine in the seventh and eighth centuries. Among the masters of the kanon were John of Damascus (d. 750), Kosmas of Maiouma (675–752), and Andrew of Crete (ca. 660–740). Apart from its beauty and complexity, the kanon had another characteristic: a penchant for crossing borders. Originating outside the Byzantine Empire, it nevertheless made its way from Palestine to Constantinople. In both regions it would come to take the place of the nine biblical canticles in the cathedral and monastic morning service.[1] The kanon would cross another boundary, a linguistic one: Greek Chalcedonian kanons were translated into Syriac as early as the late eighth century.[2] The focus of this chapter will be a third type of boundary the kanon crossed – a confessional one. Greek Chalcedonian kanons would eventually appear in the Syrian Orthodox – that is, Miaphysite – liturgy, in Syriac.[3] Dozens of Chalcedonian kanons, in fact, originally written in Greek, show up in Miaphysite liturgical books. Nothing symbolizes the strangeness of this phenomenon quite as vividly, perhaps, as the fact that the *Paschal Kanon*, traditionally attributed to John of Damascus and one of the most famous hymns in the entire Chalcedonian tradition, appears in the Miaphysite liturgy.[4] This striking situation offers an opportunity to explore how liturgy might be a source of commonality between confessions that, historically, have been rivals and even at times enemies.

Liturgy and community

That there might be similarities and shared liturgical material across different and opposing confessions is perhaps not all that surprising. Scholars, for instance, have long noted a number of similarities between the liturgies of the Maronite Church and the Church of the East.[5] The Maronite anaphora known as the Sharrar shares many similarities with the very ancient East Syrian anaphora of Addai and Mari, and the Maronite and East Syrian daily offices have many hymns of praise in common.[6] Moreover, Miaphysite and Chalcedonian liturgies share certain prayers and other material.[7] Such overlaps can be explained by suggesting that common elements go back to a period before Christological controversies irreparably fractured the churches of the Middle East. But the *Paschal Kanon* attributed

to John of Damascus appearing in the Syrian Orthodox liturgy is another matter: What is something attributed to a figure so quintessentially identified with the Greek-speaking Chalcedonian tradition doing, in Syriac, in the Syrian Orthodox liturgy? How does one explain a borrowing from an author who post-dated Chalcedon by centuries and who was a staunch critic of Miaphysitism?

Before attempting to answer this question, it might be best to acknowledge the importance of the liturgy in defining Christian communal boundaries: in late antiquity and into the middle ages, it was not uncommon for the liturgy to be a site of confessional conflict and differentiation. Perhaps the most famous example of such conflicts is the Trisagion Controversy of the fifth and sixth centuries, which centered over the permissibility of adding the words "who was crucified for us" to the famous thrice-holy hymn.[8] Chalcedonians would prefer the shorter version and Miaphysites the longer. Consequently, the presence or absence of the expression "who was crucified for us" in one's liturgy became a marker of confessional identity. As a point of controversy and difference, the Trisagion would endure in importance: in the late eighth or ninth century, the Miaphysite David bar Paulos wrote a dialogue where a Greek (i.e. a Chalcedonian) and a Syrian (i.e. a Miaphysite) debated which version was the correct one.[9] In the twelfth century, the Miaphysite Dionysios bar Salibi was still polemicizing against Chalcedonians on this topic.[10] Within the Chalcedonian community itself, the question of the longer or the shorter version of the Trisagion would become a marker of identity after the seventh century, with Dyotheletes using the shorter version and Monotheletes using the longer version.[11] Constantine of Harran, a Chalcedonian Syriac author of the eighth century, in fact wrote a work called the *Anagnosticon* to console people who were upset over the excision of the phrase "who was crucified for us" from the Chalcedonian liturgy.[12]

The Trisagion was not the only spot where liturgy and confessional identity might intersect. In addition to opposing the longer version of the Trisagion, for example, patriarch Eutychios of Constantinople (sed. 552–565, 577–582) attempted to change certain ancient customs and compose a new antiphon for the Thursday of Holy Week in order to support the Chalcedonian position – at least this is what Miaphysites accused him of doing.[13] In the Syrian Orthodox Church, controversy began during the patriarchate of George of Be'eltan (sed. 758–790) over the use of the expression "we break heavenly bread" in the eucharist, a phrase that was used by some and rejected by others. Those who used the expression accused their opponents of Julianism and those who rejected it did so on the grounds that it had its origins with Diodore of Tarsus. Patriarch George allowed the use of the expression, but Kyriakos (sed. 793–817) attempted to abolish it and the controversy flared up again under the patriarchate of Dionysios of Tell Maḥre (sed. 818–845).[14]

In a world where literacy must have been the exception, not the norm, the liturgy was perhaps the preeminent site for providing theological instruction and formation to the entire Christian community, something which gave its prayers, commemorations, and wording a catechetical function and something which made them all the more freighted with significance. In a well-known incident, Arians in Constantinople used the public night chanting of responsive hymns imbued with

their theology to spread their beliefs, prompting John Chrysostom to have hymns with Nicene views also sung at night, accompanied by imperially donated silver crosses and candles, to counter the potential lure the Arian chants might have on everyday believers. The rival chanting led to riots and violence and an eventual imperial prohibition on Arian public worship.[15] No less than Ephrem the Syrian was supposed to have taken up composing metrical hymns for choirs to counteract the erroneous ideas being propagated through the choral compositions of Harmonios, the supposed son of Bardaisan.[16]

In a post-Chalcedonian context, the examples can be easily multiplied. Miaphysites would remember one of the poets known as Isaac of Antioch as introducing Nestorianism into Edessa and composing *memrē*, metrical homilies, which mocked Christ.[17] East Syrian Catholicos Isho'yahb II's (d. ca. 646) celebration of a liturgy in Constantinople while visiting the Emperor Heraklios landed him in controversy upon his return to Seleucia-Ctesiphon in the seventh century: the report that Isho'yahb had agreed to not mention the names of Diodore, Theodore, and Nestorios in his liturgy led to charges that he had "broken" his faith. Isho'yahb, for his part, had asked the Byzantines to not mention Cyril in their liturgy.[18] Baumstark observed long ago that the language of both Miaphysite and East Syrian liturgical texts might reflect and make use of the language of Christological disputes.[19]

But liturgy might also be a place where rival communities experienced borrowing and overlap. This brings me to the subject of this article: Chalcedonian kanons, originally written in Greek, appear in Syriac in the Miaphysite Syrian Orthodox liturgy and are sung as part of Syrian Orthodox worship. Liturgical texts do not identify them as being written by Chalcedonians, nor are they attributed to their original authors. They are simply referred to as *qānūnē yawnāyē*, "Greek kanons." Paris Syriac 155, for example, is a Syrian Orthodox manuscript which was copied in Nicosia, Cyprus in 1280 CE (AG 1650), and which contains a collection of 65 Greek kanons. The festal kanons, the manuscript states, "were translated from the Greek language to Syriac through the diligence of learned individuals and lovers of labor."[20] This curious situation and the social relations and contexts that make such a remarkable borrowing merit investigation.

The Syrian Orthodox fenqitho

Chalcedonian Greek kanons typically appear in a Syrian Orthodox liturgical book known today as the fenqitho (*penqītā*), a service book that contains hymns and prayers for feast days, for Sundays, and for various saints' days.[21] A fenqitho is sometimes referred to as the Syrian Orthodox festal breviary, and the word comes from the Greek πινακίδιον, or "little book."[22] Originally, the word "fenqitho" could just refer to a manuscript or codex, and in some of its oldest extant copies, the liturgical fenqitho is referred to more fully as the "book (*penqītā*) of the cycle (*ḥūdrā*) of the entire year," the "book (*penqītā*) of the entire cycle (*ḥūdrā*) of the year," or the "book (*penqītā*) of antiphons of the entire cycle (*ḥūdrā*) of the year."[23] Later, longer titles such as these would be shortened to simply "fenqitho."[24]

The contents of a fenqitho vary from place to place – in other words, no two fenqithos are the same. Because their contents vary from copy to copy, the contents of fenqithos are of greatest interest to scholars – they contain valuable information about local liturgical practices and potentially contain information about unknown or little known saints or liturgical poetry that might otherwise be lost. It was Sebastian Brock's description of the contents of the fenqitho of the Monastery of Mar Gabriel in Tur 'Abdin that made well known the figure of Simeon of the Olives (d. 734), the subject of one of only two major saints' lives we possess from the early Islamic period.[25] When it comes to fenqithos, however, easily the most important for western scholarship has been a fenqitho commonly referred to as the Mosul Fenqitho, a name that refers to the Syrian Catholic printing of the West Syrian festal breviary at Mosul in the late nineteenth century under the editorship of Clemens Joseph David. Seven volumes long and containing, over the course of thousands of pages of text, Syrian Orthodox/Catholic services for the entire liturgical year, the Mosul Fenqitho has played the most prominent role in western scholarship on this subject for the simple reason that, though a relatively rare work, it has still been easier to access than most other fenqithos, essentially all of which remain unpublished in manuscript.[26] It was the 500 or so *madrashe* found in the Mosul Fenqitho, for instance, that Brock, and before him, Thomas Joseph Lamy, Jean Slim, and Jean Gribomont, mined for lost works of Ephrem or lost stanzas of already known poems.[27] So far as the current topic is concerned, a number of Greek kanons can be found printed in the text of the Mosul Fenqitho.[28]

Social contexts: from Greek to (Chalcedonian) Syriac

Before continuing with the subject of fenqithos, however, another matter should first be addressed: before they could make it into the Syrian Orthodox fenqitho, Chalcedonian Greek kanons had to first make it into Syriac. When and where these kanons crossed this first border is hard to know with precision. It does seem, however, that Chalcedonians translated the kanons rather quickly: John of Damascus died around 750, and we have manuscript evidence that suggests that kanons of John and Kosmas had already been translated into Syriac in the eighth century.[29] Another Chalcedonian manuscript, Codex Syriacus Secundus, written in Beirut in 882, contains a Syriac translation of John's kanon for Pentecost.[30] Later Chalcedonian manuscripts contain a large number of Greek kanons, ascribed to a variety of authors, usually identified elliptically by only one name: Joseph, Mark, Theophanes, and Andrew, in addition to the famous John and Kosmas.[31]

The context for such translations is not difficult to imagine – they must have been made in areas where Christian worship was carried out in both Syriac and Greek. We have evidence that this was the case in a number of places: a colophon from BL. Or. 8606, written in 723, indicates that the Chalcedonian Cathedral in Edessa had two choirs – one that sang in Greek and one that sang in Syriac.[32] In the eighth or ninth century, a trilingual Psalter, written in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic, was produced at Mar Saba monastery near Jerusalem.[33] Vatican Syriac 41, a fourteenth-century Chalcedonian liturgical manuscript from Martyropolis, gives

instructions to the Greek deacon and the Syrian deacon as to what they should say at certain points in their respective languages, with Greek written out in Syriac script.[34] Various Chalcedonian Syriac liturgical manuscripts, in fact, contain examples of Greek written out in Syriac script, something that points to Greek and Syriac being used together in Christian worship.[35]

If these translations were likely made in areas where there was Chalcedonian Greco-Syriac bilingualism, the potential locations where this might have happened would have been Palestine, western Syria, or northern Mesopotamia. Colophons in Syriac manuscripts at Sinai point us in the direction of areas where Chalcedonian communities used Syriac: in the regions of Antioch, Tripoli, and Damascus.[36] To these areas should be added the Sinai itself, where Syriac had a presence from at least the fourth century.[37] In the late sixth century, the Piacenza Pilgrim reported finding multilingual abbots at St. Catherine's and noted that there were people there who translated between languages.[38] In the medieval period, the liturgy at St. Catherine's was celebrated in Greek, Arabic, and Syriac – in fact, Syriac liturgical manuscripts at St. Catherine's outnumber both Greek liturgical manuscripts and Arabic liturgical manuscripts.[39]

Perhaps the two preeminent places of Chalcedonian Greco-Syriac bilingualism would have been the monasteries of Palestine and the city of Edessa. It was in Chalcedonian monasteries in Palestine that Aphrahat and Ephrem were translated from Syriac into Arabic, and it was also in these monasteries that non-Chalcedonian writers such as Jacob of Sarugh, Isaac of Nineveh, John of Dalyatha, and John of Apamea were also translated into Arabic.[40] Greek continued to flourish in Palestine after the Arab conquests, and Palestine itself in the eighth century was more important than even Constantinople as a center of Greek literary activity.[41] The eighth- or ninth-century trilingual Psalter from Mar Saba, near Jerusalem, already mentioned, points to one place in particular where we know there was Greek-Aramaic coexistence in a Chalcedonian context. Mar Saba – a place traditionally, if problematically, associated with John of Damascus – had a Syrian presence and its typikon reflects a multilingual community in which Aramaic speakers were preferred for positions that involved interactions with locals.[42]

Edessa was another extremely important site of Chalcedonian Greek-Syriac coexistence. The evidence for Greek-Syriac bilingualism at Edessa is too extensive to recount here, but it bears noting that there was a bilingual Chalcedonian presence there from the fifth century until the Islamic period. In the fifth century, Samuel, a presbyter of Edessa, wrote works in Syriac against both Nestorians and Miaphysites; Samuel also appears in the *acta* of the Second Council of Ephesus, speaking in Greek.[43] Closer to the period in question, there is the witness of the colophon of BL Or. 8606, mentioned above, to a Greek and a Syriac choir in the Chalcedonian cathedral of Edessa in 723. The famous eighth-century Maronite, Theophilos (d. 785), hailed from Edessa. Theophilos translated Aristotle, Galen, and Homer into Syriac; was the author of an important, but now-lost, Syriac chronicle; and was the astrologer to the Caliph al-Mahdī.[44] Michael Synkellos, though born in Jerusalem in the mid-eighth century, wrote a Greek grammar in Edessa in the early ninth, and Theodore Abū Qurra (d. ca. 820), who wrote works

in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic, was originally from Edessa.[45] These examples of learned, Chalcedonian bilinguals (and sometimes trilinguals) from Edessa suggest that an Edessene milieu for the translation of the kanons into Syriac is also possible.[46]

It also bears noting that the eighth-century Chalcedonian-turned-Miaphysite bishop Elia cited John of Damascus's *Fount of Wisdom*, in Syriac, in his apologetic letter written to his friend Leo, the Chalcedonian bishop of Harran. Whether Elia was reading John's work in Greek and translating it himself into Syriac or whether he was working from a now-lost Syriac translation of John's work is not possible to determine. But Elia's letter shows that Syriac-speaking Chalcedonian circles in northern Mesopotamia were reading and translating – at the very least on an *ad hoc* basis, for the purposes of citation – John's works within decades of their being written.[47] And it was not just John of Damascus's works, either: BL Add. 14593, a manuscript containing Syriac translations of works of John Klimax, including his *Ladder*, was copied in Edessa in 817 and serves as another indication that Chalcedonian works, written in Greek in the region of Palestine in the seventh and eighth centuries, were circulating in northern Mesopotamia not long after their composition.[48]

Whatever the place of their original translation into Syriac, Chalcedonian Greek liturgical kanons would make their way into Miaphysite liturgical books relatively quickly after John's death.[49] In very early copies of Miaphysite fenqithos – Dayr al-Suryān Syriac 37, written in 800 and 887, and BL Add 14515 and Add. 17190, written in 893 – no Greek kanons occur, nor do Greek kanons occur in BL Add. 14516, a fenqitho Wright dated to the ninth century.[50] Nevertheless, it seems that Greek kanons were already making their way into Syrian Orthodox services by the time these manuscripts were being written or not long afterwards: we have Syrian Orthodox liturgical manuscripts from the tenth century, and perhaps even earlier, that include Greek kanons in their content.[51] In the late tenth century, in fact, Abraham, the Miaphysite Patriarch of Alexandria (sed. 977–981), gave the famous Dayr al-Suryān in the Nitrian Desert a Syriac liturgical manuscript containing Greek kanons.[52] Already in the early ninth century La'azar bar Sabta, the Miaphysite bishop of Baghdad, had observed that Greek kanons composed by John of Damascus were entering into Syrian Orthodox churches in the east and in the west.[53] Aelred Cody pointed to the ninth century as the period when Miaphysite "imitation of Melkite fashions in liturgical hymnody seems to have been greatest." It was in the ninth and tenth century that Miaphysites appropriated terms like *tropologion* and *troparia* to refer liturgical books and compositions, and it was in this period that Miaphysites produced Psalters containing lists of the biblical odes resembling the nine biblical odes found in the Chalcedonian liturgical tradition.[54]

Greek kanons, Syrian kanons, Syrian anthems: Edessa and Melitene

In labeling these kanons "Greek," the creators of Miaphysite liturgical texts were distinguishing them from another kind of kanon – what they called "Syrian" or

"Eastern" kanons. BL Add. 14507, for instance, a Syrian Orthodox liturgical manuscript from the tenth or eleventh century, contains both Greek and Syrian kanons, as does BL 14695 from the eleventh or twelfth century.[55] The later Miaphysite tradition would understand that "Syrian" or "Eastern" kanons were ones composed originally in Syriac, as opposed to being translated from Greek.[56] Syrian kanons, however, can also be found in Chalcedonian manuscripts, and Husmann showed that some kanons were translated from Greek, while others were originally composed in Syriac.[57]

In addition to Syrian kanons, Miaphysite liturgical manuscripts also contained Syrian anthems or responsoria, called *ʿenyānē*; these *ʿenyānē* can commonly be found juxtaposed to Greek kanons in Miaphysite manuscripts. Of many possible instances, examples might be pointed to from the tenth century and also from the twelfth or thirteenth.[58] All three of these types of hymns might also appear in a single place: BL Add. 12145, for instance, a Syriac manuscript copied in the tenth century, contains Greek kanons, Syrian kanons, and also Syrian *ʿenyānē*.[59] The various names for these liturgical hymns can quickly become confusing, not the least because *ʿenyānē* were something of an elastic category. Though sometimes understood to be the same as kanons, Husmann pointed out, they were not the same. More properly speaking, *ʿenyānē* were analogous to what the Greek tradition calls *stichera*, that is, strophes related to and responding to the Psalms, not strophes related to the biblical canticles, which was what kanons were.[60] This distinction, however, was not always adhered to in either Chalcedonian or Miaphysite manuscripts, where calling something an *ʿenyānā* – even when it was a text related to a biblical canticle, that is, even when it was properly speaking, a kanon – was a way for copyists and compilers to signal that they believed (not always correctly) the text in question had been composed in Syriac and not translated from Greek. What is more, there are occasions when manuscripts will use *ʿenyānā* and "kanon" interchangeably or will simply call a kanon an *ʿenyānā*.[61]

Within certain Miaphysite manuscripts, geographic descriptors were added to make distinctions between different kinds of Greek kanons. A tenth-century manuscript in the British Library contains two different sets of Greek kanons and specifies that one of them is "according to the Mesopotamian rite."[62] Greek kanons in a tenth- or eleventh-century hymnbook in Berlin are called on more than one occasion "Greek and Edessene kanons," at the bottom of several pages the words "Greek, that is, Edessene kanon" are written, and in several other places the manuscripts speak of kanons as being in the "precise recension of Edessa," noting in two other instances, "this is the translation of the Greeks and Edessenes."[63] A Miaphysite *tropologion* from the late twelfth century contains Syrian responses (*ʿenyānē*) and Greek kanons according to the "tradition of the Edessenes."[64] Several manuscripts from the thirteenth century refer to their kanons as being from Melitene.[65] Of particular importance is the witness of Paris Syriac 155, which refers to certain kanons being in the "recension of Edessa," language similar to what is found in the Berlin manuscript.[66] Most significantly, Paris Syriac 155 gives in a number of cases two different versions of the same kanon, citing one as the version of Edessa and one as the version of Melitene.[67] These

double recensions of particular kanons occur in certain places across various manuscripts: during Epiphany, the feast of Saint Abgar, Pentecost, the feast of the Cross, and during Easter.[68]

The Greek kanons in modern investigation

It was Hermann Zotenberg who first pointed out the existence of different recensions of the Greek kanons in his catalog of Syriac manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1874. Further contributions to understanding the nature of the different recensions were made by Anton Baumstark and, subsequently, by his student Odilo Heiming, and then later by Ludger Bernhard. The most important contributions to the question of these two recensions, however, and to the nature of the Greek kanons more generally, were made in a series of meticulous and learned articles written by the great musicologist Heinrich Husmann in the 1970s.[69]

In 1972, Husmann studied Greek Resurrection kanons in Miaphysite Syriac manuscripts. The kanons associated with Easter, like the Greek kanons associated with the Epiphany, the feast of St. Abgar, Pentecost, and the Feast of the Cross, represented a case where Miaphysite manuscripts recorded both Edessene and Melitenian recensions. Husmann compared these Resurrection kanons to extant Greek evidence for the same kanons and found that the Syriac material in most cases did not correspond to what is found in the Greek *Octoechos* – this was a result quite different from what occurs when the Syriac evidence for the four other feasts which Miaphysite manuscripts transmitted in versions of Edessa and Melitene were compared with Greek material. In the latter case, the Edessene and Melitenian recensions proved to be translations of the same Greek *Vorlage*, one that can be identified in extant Greek material. By contrast, the Greek Resurrection kanons in Syriac, Husmann argued, either went back to a lost Greek original or represented new poetic compositions in Syriac in which a translated Greek *hirmos* – the pattern strophe that formed a link between a biblical canticle and new hymnic material related to and inspired by it – was followed by stanzas written originally in Syriac. This latter option was, Husmann suggested, unlikely.[70] In the early 1930s, Joseph Molitor had used Chalcedonian Syriac manuscripts to recover *troparia* and *kontakia* that had been lost in the Greek original, and the Greek kanons, Husmann suggested, were another example of the Syriac tradition preserving otherwise lost Greek material.[71]

The transmission of two different sets of Greek kanons – one associated with Edessa and one associated with Melitene – is a puzzle to which Husmann also turned his attention. In 1972, he pointed out that manuscripts containing kanons in these different recensions came from a wide variety of areas, and one could not assign a particular geographic location for the use of one recension and a different area for the use of the other.[72] In a dissertation completed in 1951 but never published, Ludger Bernhard studied a number of different Syrian Orthodox liturgical manuscripts containing Greek kanons and located in European collections and found that some contained only the recension of Melitene, some contained only the recension of Edessa, and others contained kanons from both these

recensions.[73] The questions remained: why were there two different recensions of certain kanons, and why did they have specific geographic names assigned to them?

Husmann took the subject of the Greek kanons up again in 1975, when he sought to ascertain whether the Greek kanons found in Syrian Orthodox manuscripts represented translations that had been done by the Syrian Orthodox themselves – something which had been assumed by previous scholarship – or whether they represented Chalcedonian translations that were appropriated by the Syrian Orthodox.[74] Husmann showed that the translations were actually done by Chalcedonians, not by the Syrian Orthodox, and what the Syrian Orthodox referred to as the Edessene version of the kanons represented an older Chalcedonian translation and the version of Melitene represented a revised Chalcedonian translation, also taken up by the Syrian Orthodox. In a subsequent article published in 1976, Husmann identified a number of Syriac liturgical manuscripts held at St. Catherine's monastery which preserved a Chalcedonian Syriac liturgy which was older than the standardized Byzantine liturgy typically found in Chalcedonian Byzantine liturgical texts, both Greek and Syriac. This older Syrian liturgy, which he termed "paläosyro-melkitisch" or "altsyrisch-melkitisch," was the source of what Miaphysite manuscripts referred to as the Edessene recension of the Greek kanons and the revised or Byzantinized Chalcedonian liturgy, which later became standard in both Greek and Chalcedonian Syriac liturgical manuscripts, and was the source of what Miaphysite manuscripts referred to as the recension of Melitene.[75] The majority of Greek kanons found in both Edessene and Melitenian manuscripts, Husmann pointed out, were actually the same, and he labeled the translation found in these kanons "version G."[76] Syrian Orthodox witnesses to the Greek kanons, therefore, represent evidence for the liturgical Byzantinization that the Chalcedonian liturgy of Antioch underwent towards the end of the first millennium CE, when the community shifted from an Antiochene liturgy to one that was Constantinopolitan.[77]

Medieval reactions

In the medieval period the presence of these Chalcedonian kanons in the Syrian Orthodox liturgy did not go unnoticed. By the early ninth century, La'azar bar Sabta, writing in Baghdad, had observed that kanons composed by John of Damascus were entering into Syrian Orthodox churches across the Middle East. The work in which La'azar makes this observation is now lost, but we know about it from the first book of Bar 'Ebroyo's (d. 1286) *Ethicon*, where Bar 'Ebroyo gave a brief history of Syriac hymnography. In addition to discussing Ephrem, Isaac of Antioch, Balai, Jacob, Simeon the Potter, and Severos, Bar 'Ebroyo included a discussion of the Greek kanons. "At the time of the holy Jacob of Edessa and of the excellent George of the Arab Tribes," Bar 'Ebroyo wrote,

> Those canticles which are called 'the Greek kanons' were introduced by a certain Damascene author, whose name was Cyrene bar Manṣūr and by a

> certain monk, who, among them, was surnamed Abā Qūsmā, the inventor of the Qūqiliā, viz. kanons which are more delightful than those <composed> by the former. Since this Cyrene, though belonging to the partisans of the Council <of Chalcedon>, did not apply himself to mentioning in these songs the points of dispute by which the schism had originated, his canons began to be introduced into our church in East and West, as we learn from the holy Lazarus bar Sābtā.[78]

Although the theological content of the borrowed Greek kanons themselves was not contrary to the theological positions of the Syrian Orthodox, the very fact of their borrowing would eventually become a point in the Chalcedonian-Miaphysite dispute. In the twelfth century, the Miaphysite Dionysios bar Salibi wrote a treatise against the Melkites directed to a Miaphysite monk named Rabban Isho‘, who had converted or who was about to convert to Chalcedonianism. In Bar Salibi's reply to Rabban Isho‘, the topic of the Greek kanons came up more than once. These were evidently a source of Chalcedonian pride, and Bar Salibi had mixed feelings about them. Bar Salibi suggested that people should read from the Old and New Testaments and from the Fathers on church feast days, rather than be concerned with beautiful music: "Be concerned with this good work rather than kanons," he wrote.[79] We should not "sing and contrive musical melodies like sirens," Bar Salibi argued, "nor to bray like asses, nor to utter sweet sounds like nightingales." It was obvious that the beauty of the Chalcedonian service was an attraction for Rabban Isho‘, but for Bar Salibi, the beauty of the melodies was simply not Christian: "To pagans belong festivities, songs, dances, banquets and drink, and to Christians fasting, prayer, and reading of scripture. In their festivities the Greeks resemble, therefore, those who are outside our sheepfold."[80] In fact, Bar Salibi argued, kanons, stichera, and other forms of Byzantine church music had their origin among pagans. They began, he suggested, with Odysseus and others, who learned melodies from the sirens and then taught them to the rest of humanity.[81]

For Rabban Isho‘, the presence of Greek kanons in the Syrian Orthodox liturgy was a sign of Chalcedonian superiority over the Syrian Orthodox, but Bar Salibi was not convinced. "If it is because of these kanons and because of four or five books of theirs we have translated that they are so arrogant," he retorted, "our Lord was a Syrian, and they have translated all his teaching into their language."[82] For Bar Salibi, the Greek kanons and other elaborate melodies were actually a bad thing. They "really did harm to the church," he wrote, "since they have been in it the cause of the cessation of the reading and interpretation of scripture and the art of preaching."[83] From Rabban Isho‘'s points about why he found a conversion to Chalcedonianism attractive, it is clear that the Eastern Roman Empire was viewed with enormous prestige and admiration by Christians of different confessions living under Muslim rule. Michael the Syrian reported that it was an influx of Byzantine prisoners of war and the prestige of the Byzantine Empire among Syrian Chalcedonians that caused many of them to shift from Monothelete to Dyothelete belief in the early eighth century.[84] It is not hard to imagine the

prestige of Byzantium combining with the beauty of the kanons themselves as factors motivating these borrowings.

Social contexts: cross-confessional appropriations

In addition to the question of the social context for the initial translation of the kanons from Greek into Syriac, the borrowing of the kanons by the Syrian Orthodox raises questions about the precise mechanics of such a borrowing. How did it actually happen? The existence of recensions with actual place names attached to them – Edessa and Melitene – point us, as Husmann noted, to where Miaphysites thought the translations had their homes, though this does not mean that the translations actually hailed from these locales.[85] Nevertheless, the names themselves are suggestive. Hidemi Takahashi has raised the possibility that what is known as the recension of Melitene of the Greek kanons was given this name because it was in Melitene, a city with a Christian population of reportedly 60,000 in the first part of the eleventh century – including both Chalcedonians and Miaphysites – that the transfer of this particular recension of the kanons into Miaphysite circles took place.[86]

Unfortunately, given the nature of our evidence, we cannot point with certainty to a specific person or persons in a known place or places as being responsible for the transfer of the kanons into a Syrian Orthodox context. But any attempt at answering such a question must begin with recognizing that this instance of liturgical spilling over between putatively rival confessions was not in fact unique. Chalcedonians themselves might avail themselves of liturgical material from rival confessions: in the New Finds from St Catherine's, Brock has identified a baptismal rite which is essentially identical to a Syrian Orthodox baptismal rite attributed to the famous Miaphysite Timothy Aelurus.[87] Similarly, the Chalcedonian manuscript Sinai Syriac 233A contains a *memra* written by the Miaphysite Jacob of Sarugh (though unattributed) to be used on the Monday of Holy Week.[88] Jacob of Sarugh also makes an unattributed appearance in the East Syrian *Hudra*, which includes an extensive quotation from one of his works on the Resurrection.[89] The East Syrian *Hudra* and the West Syrian fenqitho also contain a number of *madrashe*, or metrical hymns, in common; these commonalities probably go back to the period before these churches broke communion. But they also share a short *madrasha* which was clearly written long after the churches split, during Muslim rule.[90] Cody pointed to the introduction of the Greek kanons into the Syrian Orthodox liturgy as being responsible for bringing the practice of organizing hymns into an *octoechos* – into, that is, groups of liturgical texts that are worked through cyclically over the course of eight weeks, with a different melody (or mode) each week – into Syrian Orthodox circles as well.[91] Further research into Chalcedonian/Rūm, Maronite, Syrian Orthodox, and East Syrian liturgical manuscripts will no doubt turn up further examples of the presence of liturgical material from rival traditions.[92]

Such crossing over should not in fact surprise us. Churches would commemorate saints liturgically which were not, technically speaking, their own. The

Maronites, for example, commemorated both Jacob of Edessa and George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes, even though both these men were Miaphysites – George himself even polemicized against Chalcedonians, which of course the Maronites were.[93] In his study on the Maronite liturgical calendar found in Vatican Syriac 313, Sauget found that the calendar had much in common with Byzantine calendars: 302 of its 420 commemorations fell either on the same day or a day before or after the same commemoration found in Byzantine calendars, and these Maronite commemorations included post-Chalcedonian saints who are generally regarded as only Byzantine.[94] What is more, Sauget found fourteen instances where the calendar showed a distinctively West Syrian influence, either in the day it chose to celebrate a particular saint or in the celebration of a saint who was unmistakably Miaphysite in theological orientation.[95]

Commemoration of saints might also include the preservation of their *vitae* by members of ostensibly rival confessions. Symeon the Holy Fool was a Chalcedonian saint, but in the Syriac translation of the text as it now stands, orthodox and heretics have completely switched roles from the Greek original, and Symeon, in Syriac at least, is a Miaphysite.[96] Similarly, John of Daylam (d. ca. 738) was an East Syrian saint, but his *vita* and writings pertaining to him have been transmitted and preserved largely in Miaphysite circles.[97] Both Maronites and the Syrian Orthodox laid claim to the Miaphysite Jacob of Sarugh, and Jacob was translated into Arabic by (presumably Dyothelete) Chalcedonians in Palestine, as was the East Syrian John of Dalyatha.[98] It was Chalcedonians at Mar Saba who translated Isaac of Nineveh – a writer from the Church of the East – from Syriac into Greek in the ninth century, and the great majority of the Syriac text of the *Book of Perfection*, written by the East Syrian Sahdona has been preserved by Chalcedonians.[99] Both Chalcedonians and Miaphysites copied material written by the East Syrian Abraham of Nathpar.[100]

It is at this level of monastic and spiritual writings, in fact, that we can perhaps see most clearly the great deal of crossing over that must have existed between the various groups: in addition to authors already mentioned, Chalcedonians read East Syrian authors such as Simeon of Taybutheh and the Miaphysite Philoxenos of Mabbug, while the Syrian Orthodox read Chalcedonian authors like John Klimax and East Syrians like Gregory of Cyprus and Joseph Hazzaya.[101] Manuscripts themselves can point to cross-confessional contact: British Library Or. 8607 contains a Chalcedonian copy of part of Paul's letters. The manuscript is a palimpsest, however: underneath the Melkite handwriting of the first eleven chapters of Romans is the text of part of the ascetic discourses of the prominent Miaphysite Philoxenos of Mabbug.[102]

The borrowing of Chalcedonian Greek kanons by the Syrian Orthodox, therefore, is one example of a larger phenomenon of interconfessional contact and cross-pollination that was characteristic of Middle Eastern Christian communities throughout late antiquity and the middle ages, and a social context for explaining the origin of such borrowings is easy to suggest. Just as is the case in many churches today, in the Middle East and, indeed, throughout the world, in the late antique and medieval Middle East, it must have been not uncommon for members

of one confession to take communion in a church that, ostensibly at least, was a rival or even enemy to his or her own church. The fact that such activities did not perhaps make certain members of the clergy happy did not mean they did not occur. We know that such cross-confessional communication was happening, however, precisely for this reason: we find its practice discouraged and condemned in a variety of ways in a number of different texts, all from different confessional provenances.

In addition to people taking communion in putatively rival churches, there was also conversion and movement between different confessions. The Greek kanons had been translated into Syriac and were making their way into Miaphysite liturgies by the early ninth century. Not long before this, around 780, the East Syrian Catholicos Timothy I wrote a long letter to Solomon, the bishop of Hdatta, discussing the question of whether heretics – especially Cyrillians – should be rebaptized upon entering the Church of the East.[103] The obvious context for such a letter is one in which rebaptism of cross-confessional converts was an issue. Timothy I's contemporary, the Chalcedonian Theodore Abū Qurrah, was remembered by Miaphysites for having spread the doctrine of Maximus the Confessor and for having led astray both Monothelete Chalcedonians and also Miaphysite Syrian Orthodox at roughly this same time.[104] Individual conversions were one matter, but there might also be mass conversions: around 791 or 792, Timothy I reported that thirteen churches having some 2,000 congregants in Najran, a town near al-Ḥīra in southern Iraq, had left Julianism for the Church of the East.[105] Such large-scale conversions were not temporally isolated incidents: in the late seventh or early eighth century, John the Stylite of Litarb asked Jacob of Edessa what should be done if an entire village of heretics – by which he likely meant Chalcedonians – were to return to the true faith.[106] Christians travelling between different confessions, licitly or illicitly, would have brought with them knowledge of the liturgy and practices of their former churches. And more than people, church buildings might change between rival groups and liturgical vessels, too.[107] No less than Qenneshre, the most important Miaphysite monastery in the Middle East in the early middle ages – one which produced seven patriarchs and numerous bishops and scholars – was reportedly occupied by Chalcedonians in the late sixth century.[108] In one instance, we even have a report of rival Dyothelete and Monothelete communities worshipping in the same church in eighth-century Aleppo, with a wooden partition separating the two congregations, congregations which would try to drown out the service of the rival group by being as loud as possible.[109]

Apart from communion and conversion between confessions, there was the simple fact that being divided ecclesiastically did not mean that there was an ignorance of the contents of other traditions. The East Syrian Timothy I, for instance, was in possession of a Miaphysite translation of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos as well as the Syro-Hexaplar translation of the Miaphysite Paul of Tella.[110] A number of East Syrians, in fact, made use of the Syro-Hexapla, and Chalcedonians, for reasons that are not clear, used it in their lectionary readings from Ezekiel, while preferring the Peshitta for everything else.[111] Timothy's

contemporary, the Miaphysite Patriarch Kyriakos (sed. 793–817), was able to cite what was and was not present in the liturgy of St. Mark celebrated among Egyptians as well as what was present in the Greek texts underlying the Syriac liturgy in use among the Syrian Orthodox.[112] Similarly, the Miaphysite Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) was familiar with liturgical practices in Constantinople and in Byzantine-ruled areas as well as in Alexandria.[113] The author of the eleventh-century East Syrian *Chronicle of Seert* was familiar enough with the Miaphysite liturgy to credit John I of the Sedre (sed. 630/1–648) with having composed a number of Syrian Orthodox liturgical prayers and services for sanctifying the Myron and blessing the waters, and the East Syrian Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043) cited Jacob of Edessa, a staunch Miaphysite, in his Gospel commentary.[114] The British Library has a Miaphysite lectionary that was copied out and bound in 1089 near Alexandria by a Stylite named Samuel; in the same year, this same Samuel also repaired and bound another lectionary now held in the British Library – an East Syrian one.[115] Syrian Orthodox monastic libraries included Chalcedonian liturgical material and other Chalcedonian manuscripts.[116] Chalcedonians, for their part, might also be in possession of both Syrian Orthodox and East Syrian liturgical texts.[117]

Liturgical separation and confessional separation

Part of the story of the separation of the church of Syria into recognizably Chalcedonian and Miaphysite branches (and the subsequent separation of the Maronite and Rūm churches) is a liturgical one. More than doctrinal treatises written by religious elites, treatises which could have been read by very few and understood by perhaps fewer, it was the evolution of different liturgies and different sets of liturgical commemorations that signaled the development of separate churches and communities. Before its Byzantinization – that is, before becoming Constantinopolitanized via translations undertaken from Greek – the Chalcedonian Syriac liturgy would have been closer to the similarly Antiochene rite of the Syrian Orthodox.[118] Indeed, in Melkite liturgical manuscripts that contain material that predates the Byzantinization of the Chalcedonian liturgy of Syria, we find technical liturgical terms – for instance, *bā'ūtā*, *sedrā*, *ḥūssāyā* – which are very familiar to anyone acquainted with the Syrian Orthodox or Maronite liturgical traditions.[119] Isḥāq Armala, in fact, described a Melkite liturgical *shḥīmtā* held privately in the Middle East and pointed to another one held in the British Museum: like the Syrian Orthodox and the Maronites, Melkites had once used the name *shḥimo* or *shhīmto* to refer to the liturgical volume containing their ordinary weekday offices.[120] Similarity in liturgy no doubt facilitated movement of both people and liturgical material between the various competing confessions – similar liturgies meant that the experience of worshipping and communicating in a rival church would have been very familiar. Husmann wrote long ago that the presence of the Greek kanons in the Syrian Orthodox liturgy showed that even after the Council of Chalcedon, and even after Severos of Antioch and Jacob Baradaeus, there was still a cultural connection between the Chalcedonian and Miaphysite churches.[121]

Any discussion, therefore, of the emergence of distinct Chalcedonian and Miaphysite churches which does not take into account the evolution of distinct liturgical traditions from a common Antiochene inheritance should be viewed as incomplete. My discussion up till this point has not included political factors, but a key moment in this evolution was the introduction and translation of Byzantine liturgical texts into a Chalcedonian Syrian and Syriac milieu that took place after the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch in 969 – it is these translations which have been credited with starting the liturgical Byzantinization of the Chalcedonian liturgy of Antioch. It was these translations that led to the Chalcedonians of Syria eventually adopting the liturgy of Constantinople and abandoning that of Antioch.[122]

The importance of understanding the role of the liturgy in the formation of separate communities raises the question of another factor which has been pointed to as playing an important role in the setting of religious boundaries: violence.[123] Violence has not played a role in my story for the simple reason that there is little violence to be found in the study of the movement of a certain type of hymn across languages and across confessional boundaries. What is more, seeking to understand the social contexts which might make such peregrinations possible leads one to a world where entanglement, intermingling, and irenic interaction characterize relations between Christian groups more than violence does – whether state-sponsored or locally initiated. To be sure, though violence can be found in our sources when they touch on intercommunal relations, early medieval Syriac sources are also filled with instances of members of Christian communities crossing ostensible boundaries in peaceful ways – East Syrians helping to build Miaphysite churches, Miaphysites copying out polemical manuscripts for members of rival confessions, and priests from one confession knowingly baptizing and giving the eucharist to members of rival confessions are only three examples, of which many more could be adduced.[124] Confessional boundaries might even run through families: Addai asked Jacob of Edessa whether it was permissible for Miaphysites to have memorials celebrated for their parents who had died in heresy (i.e. as Chalcedonians). What if, Addai continued, the parents, though heretics, had given their son to the Orthodox (i.e. Miaphysites) to be raised as a monk?[125] Such acts, of course, are not as spectacular as the destruction of buildings or the physical assault or maiming of a theological rival, but they point to other possibilities of intraconfessional existence that, though less vivid than moments of violence and destruction, were perhaps the norm that made the rare violent incident stand out.

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Bar Salibi, writing in the twelfth century, expressed a hope that the various Christian groups of his day would cooperate and not be divided: "Let it be known to you," he wrote Rabban Isho', "that it is very pleasing and agreeable to God that there should be no divisions in the Churches of Christians. . . ." Chalcedonians who claimed to be the only true Christians had done more damage to the Syrian Orthodox and the Armenians than the Turks had, he wrote. "I wished to sow peace

in the camp of the hostile parties," Bar Salibi continued, "and to convince them from the books of the Apostles and Doctors that it is not good that they should contend with one another, but that they should enter one another's Churches, and pray with love, and if necessary to come nearer to one another and remember one another in prayers, with the understanding that each one may follow his own theological convictions, but they did not condescend to reconciliation."[126]

Perspectives like Bar Salibi's are difficult to find evidence for in written sources from late antiquity and the middle ages – such sources are usually penned by clerical authorities who strongly disagreed with precisely these sorts of views.[127] While he was Patriarch of Antioch (sed. 512–518), Severos disciplined a certain Pelagios for various offenses committed at the Monastery of St. Thomas at Seleucia. What seems to have angered Severos the most was that Pelagios had let a "Nestorian" (probably a Chalcedonian) into the monastery and had, moreover, let another "Nestorian" celebrate the eucharist there. According to Severos, this man, previously a solitary, had reportedly stated, "It is the same thing for us to speak of two natures and of one incarnate nature of God the Word." To make matters worse, Severos noted, through his actions Pelagios was "shown to be drawing into his own impiety those of the brethren also who are specially simple and have specially rustic minds." This seems to have particularly upset the Patriarch.[128] The unnamed "Nestorians" Severos referred to – whether Chalcedonians or Nestorians or none of these things – have left us no writings and neither has Pelagios. But their views cannot have been unique in a world where attempts at drawing strong lines between different Christian groups were not uncommon.

The transfer, however, of the Greek kanons across these lines casts light on a usually difficult-to-see part of this same world – one where views like those of Bar Salibi and Severos's "Nestorian" celebrant dwelt, one where these confessional boundary lines took a secondary importance to other common concerns. Lying behind the transfer of the Greek kanons from Chalcedonians to Miaphysites and the other instances of liturgical interminglings are human lives that crossed paths, peaceably, in a number of different everyday contexts. Bar 'Ebroyo's observation that John of Damascus's kanons were able to be taken into the Syrian Orthodox church because they contained nothing overtly Chalcedonian is perhaps the key to understanding the phenomenon of the borrowing of the Greek kanons by the Syrian Orthodox. Such logic has been employed at other times and in other places: here it is perhaps useful to recall that the kanons of Ps.-Athanasios, dating to somewhere between 350 and 500, had forbidden chanters in church from using "the books of Meletios and the ignorant" in their chanting.[129] Such was the logic, no doubt, that allowed a large number of monastic and spiritual texts to move across confessional boundaries, and such was the logic that aided and abetted the numerous other instances of confessional boundary crossing that can be pointed to. In the late antique and medieval Middle East, just as today, a very pragmatic ecumenism existed among the various putatively rival Christian groups and crossing over was easy, possible, and normal because, wooden partitions notwithstanding, there was much more that these communities had in common than there was separating them.

Notes

1 See Derek Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects: Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 132–33, on the origins and place of the kanon in lay and monastic worship. José Grosdidier de Matons, "Liturgie et Hymnographie: Kontakion et Canon," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–1981): 31–43; and Alexander Lingas, "The Liturgical Place of the Kontakion in Constantinople," in *Liturgy, Architecture, and Art in Byzantine World: Papers of the XVIII International Byzantine Congress (Moscow, 8–15 August 1991) and Other Essays Dedicated to the memory of Fr. John Meyendorff*, ed. Constantin C. Akentiev (St. Petersburg: Publications of the St. Petersburg Society for Byzantine and Slavic Studies 1995), 50–57 are important on the history of the kanon, especially as it relates to the kontakion. For an extensive overview of the history of the kanon, its structure, its place in the liturgy, and its relationship to the nine biblical canticles/odes, see Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 198–245.

2 Sinai Syriac New Finds Sp. 39. See Sebastian P. Brock, *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments (New Finds) in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Athens: Mt. Sinai Foundation, 1995), 35–36, 231–32.

3 The names associated with the various Christian groups in the Middle East are often confusing and none are without their complexities and complications and need for qualification. In what follows, I will use "Syrian Orthodox" and "Miaphysite" to refer to the non-Chalcedonian group which is sometimes also referred to, especially in older literature, as "Jacobite" and "Monophysite." I will refer to the Christian church which had its traditional center of gravity in the Sasanian Empire and that was often referred to as "Nestorian" in older literature as "East Syrian" or speak of it as being the "Church of the East." I will mean by "Chalcedonians" members of the Dyothelete Chalcedonian church known in Arabic as the *Rūm* (literally, "Romans") and sometimes also referred to as "Melkites" and will use "Maronite" to refer to Monothelete Chalcedonians. Though "West Syrian" might also be taken to include the *Rūm* and the Maronites, I will reserve it for the Syrian Orthodox/Miaphysite church. Important discussions of these various names and the pitfalls attached to these (and other) labels include: Sebastian P. Brock, "The 'Nestorian' Church: A Lamentable Misnomer," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78 (1996): 23–35; Dietmar W. Winkler, "Miaphysitism: A New Term for Use in the History of Dogma and In Ecumenical Theology," *The Harp* 10:3 (1997): 33–40; Sidney H. Griffith, "'Melkites,' 'Jacobites' and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in Third/Ninth-Century Syria," in *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years*, ed. David R. Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 9–55; and Fergus Millar, "The Evolution of the Syrian Orthodox Church in the Pre-Islamic Period: From Greek to Syriac?" *JECS* 21 (2013): 50–58.

4 See *Breviarium iuxta ritum Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Syrorum* (Mosul: Typis Fratrum Prædicatorum, 1892), 5:342–45 and Sebastian P. Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography (3): Syriac," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. Susan A. Harvey and David G. Hunter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 666. This article has its genesis in Sebastian Brock pointing out to me that John of Damascus's Resurrection Kanon was found in the Mosul Fenqitho, and I am grateful to him for bringing this to my attention. I should also add that over the course of writing this article, George Kiraz fielded a number of my questions about the Syrian Orthodox liturgy with characteristic grace and generosity. On the *Paschal Kanon* itself, see Derek Krueger's essay in this volume.

5 See, e.g. those listed in William F. Macomber, "A Theory on the Origins of the Syrian, Maronite and Chaldean Rites," *OCP* 39:1 (1973): 236–37.

6 Sebastian P. Brock, "Liturgy," in *GEDSH*, 248–51, esp. 249, and Sebastian P. Brock, "Some Early Witnesses to the East Syriac Liturgical Tradition," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18 (2004): 19–42.

7 Baby Varghese, *West Syrian Liturgical Theology* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004), 5.
8 On this controversy, see most conveniently, Sebastian P. Brock, "The Thrice-Holy Hymn in the Liturgy," *Sobornost/Eastern Churches Review* 7 (1985): 24–34. On the importance of the Trisagion and its multiple occurrences in liturgies east and west, as well as its history and the history of the conflict, see Sebastià Janeras, "Le Trisagion: Une formule brève en liturgie compare," in *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948): Acts of the international congress, Rome, 25–29 September 1998*, ed. Robert F. Taft and Gabriele Winkler (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2001), 495–562.
9 This was partially published in Joseph S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, vol. 1 (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1719), 518–19. See, too, the description of Vatican Syriac 146, fols. 130–31 in Stephen E. Assemani and Joseph S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, vol. 1.3 (Rome, 1759; reprint, Paris, 1926), 268–69.
10 For Dionysios bar Salibi on the Trisagion, see Dionysios bar Salibi, *Against the Melkites* 10 (English translation used here taken from Alphonse Mingana, ed. and trans., *Woodbrooke Studies, Volume 1* [Cambridge: Heffer, 1927], 57–63 (English) = 88–92 [Syriac]).
11 See the report of the Dyothelete Theophylact bar Qanbara's attempts at using military force to compel Maronites (i.e. Monotheletes) to accept the doctrine of two wills and the shorter version of the Trisagion in the early part of the eighth century in Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.22 (ed. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche [1166–1199]* [Paris: Leroux, 1899–1910], 4.467 [Syriac] = 2.511 [French translation]).
12 For Constantine of Harran's *Anagnosticon*, see Albert van Roey, "Trois auteurs chalcédoniens syriens: Georges de Martyropolis, Constantin et Léon de Harran," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3 (1972): 130, 143–44. Thomas of Kafarṭāb, an eleventh-century Monothelete devoted two of the ten parts of his *Ten Chapters* to the question of defending the Monothelete use of the longer version of the Trisagion against the Dyothelete use of the shorter version. See Charles Chartouni, ed. and trans., *Le traité des dix chapitres de Thomas de Kfarṭāb: Un document sur les origines de l'Église maronite* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq Sarl, 1986), 157–63 (Arabic) = 105–12 (French translation).
13 John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.40, 2.52. English translation available in Robert Payne Smith, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860), 155–56; Syriac text in Ernest W. Brooks, ed., *Iohannis Ephesini historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia*, CSCO Syr. III.3 (Louvain: Secretariat du CorpusSCO, 1935–1936), 106–07, 117–18.
14 For the controversy, see Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 12.2–12.3, 12.9–12.10 (accusations of origin with Diodore, see 4.481–82 = 3.7; for the accusation of Kyriakos falling into Julianism, see 4.499 = 3.38). Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Vestiges d'une célébration gréco-syriaque de l'Anaphore de Saint Jacques," in *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Professor Albert van Roey for His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Carl Laga, Joseph A. Munitiz, and Lucas van Rompay (Leuven: Peeters, 1985), 309–45, esp. 335–44, gives an overview of the controversy.
15 Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 6.8.
16 Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.16. On this claim, however, and the likelihood that Harmonius never even existed, see Sebastian P. Brock, "Syriac and Greek Hymnography: Problems of Origin," *SP* 16 (1985): 77–81, esp. 79–80.
17 *Chronicle to 846*, 217n1 (ed. Ernest W. Brooks, *Chronica Minora II* [CSCO SS 3.4] [Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1904]).
18 *Chronicle of Seert* 2.93 (ed. and trans. Addai Scher and Robert Griveau, *Histoire Nestorienne [Chronique de Séert]*, *PO* 13 [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1919]: 560 [240]).
19 Anton Baumstark, *On the Historical Development of the Liturgy*, trans. Fritz West (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), 166.

20 Hermann Zotenberg, *Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1874), 111.

21 As opposed to the *shḥimo*, also referred to as a ferial breviary, which contains services for ordinary days (on the *shḥimo*/*shḥimto*, see below). For an overview of the liturgies, liturgical books, and specialized vocabulary of the various branches of the Syriac tradition, see Heinrich Husmann, "Die Gesänge der syrischen Liturgien," in *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*: *Band I: Von den Anfängen bis zum Tridentinum*, ed. Karl Gustav Fellerer (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1972), 69–98, 161–64, though the treatment of Chalcedonian Syriac liturgical manuscripts (161–64) is much more cursory than the treatment of the East Syrian, Syrian Orthodox, and Maronite traditions. Brock, "Liturgy," in *GEDSH* s.v. also provides a succinct overview of the history of the various Syriac liturgies and the liturgical books used by each tradition. More specifically, on the meaning of "fenqitho" see Sebastian P. Brock, "The Fenqitho of the Monastery of Mar Gabriel in Tur 'Abdin," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 28 (1979): 168. On the question of the fenqitho, especially, and the history of the Mosul Fenqitho, see Stephen Plathottathil, "Francis Acharya's Adaptation of Mosul Fenqitho," *Parole de l'Orient* 31 (2006): 145–61. Greek canons also appear in the *Beth Gazo Rabo* of Julius Çiçek; for this and for a listing of the Greek canons to be found there, see Sebastian P. Brock, "Interactions between Syriac and Greek Hymnography," (forthcoming).

22 See Brock, "The Fenqitho of the Monastery of Mar Gabriel in Tur 'Abdin," 168. There have been two major printings of the Syrian Orthodox fenqitho, the first done in Mosul (1886–1896, in seven volumes) and the second done in India (Pampakuda, 1962–1963, 3 vols.) [non vidi] – see Brock, 'Liturgy,' 250. Francis Acharya made an abridged and updated translation of the Mosul Fenqitho in *Prayer with the Harp of the Spirit: The Prayer of Asian Churches*, 4 vols. (Kerala, India: Kurisumala Ashram, 1982–1986).

23 For *penqītā* as codex, see, e.g. the colophon of BL Add. 14597, fol. 139a, written in 569, which refers to itself as a fenqitho, or "codex." The colophon is printed in *CBM*, 2:651. The colophon of Add. 14591, a sixth-century manuscript, also refers to itself as a fenqitho; see *CBM*, 2:673, for the Syriac text of the colophon. For "the *penqītā* of the *ḥūdrā* of the entire year," see BL Add. 14516 (ninth century); Syriac text printed in *CBM*, 1:245. Both BL Add. 14511 (tenth century) and BL Add. 12146 (dated 1007) describe themselves as the "*penqītā* of the entire *ḥūdrā* of the year" (Syriac text printed in *CBM*, 1:249 and 258, respectively). For the "*penqītā* of antiphons of the entire *ḥūdrā* of the year," see BL Add. 14503 (tenth or eleventh century); Syriac text printed in *CBM*, 1:255. More generally, see the comments on the name of the fenqitho in Husmann, "Die Gesänge der syrischen Liturgien," 90. "Fenqitho" (*penqītā*) might also be used as part of the title of other liturgical books as well; see Husmann, "Die Gesänge der syrischen Liturgien," 88.

24 See for example Damascus Syrian Orthodox 6 ("fenqitho [*penqītā*] from the Consecration of the Church till the Feast of the Resurrection," written in 1870), Damascus Syrian Orthodox 7 ("fenqitho [*penqītā*] of the Great Fast" [i.e. Lent], written in 1872), Damascus Syrian Orthodox 8 ("fenqitho [*penqītā*] from the Feast of the Resurrection until Pentecost, and dominical and holy feasts until the Consecration of the Church," written in 1526). For a description of these manuscripts, see Anton Baumstark, "Syrische und syro-arabische Handschriften in Damaskus," *OrChr* 5 (1905): 323. Paris Syriac 158 (written between 1562 and 1564) is a "winter fenqitho (*penqītā*)" and Paris Syriac 157 (fols. 148v–396v) also contains a "winter fenqitho (*penqītā*)." Paris Syriac 159 contains a "fenqitho (*penqītā*) of the holy fast of forty," i.e. a fenqitho for Lent. For the description of these manuscripts, see Zotenberg, *Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 1112–15. And so on.

In the second oldest extant fenqitho (see below, n. 50), extant in two volumes (BL Add. 14515 and BL Add. 17190) the fenqitho is simply called the "cycle (*ḥūdrā*) of

the entire year." For the Syriac text, see *CBM*, 1:240 (BL Add. 14515) and 243 (BL Add. 17190). Compare this, too, with the ninth-century BL Add. 14522, which calls its contents "*madrashē* for the cycle (*ḥūdrā*) of the year"; see *CBM* 1:247, for the Syriac. The East Syrian analogue to the fenqitho is called the *ḥūdrā* ("cycle") and the title of this book bears an obvious relationship to that of the West Syrian fenqitho. Already in the mid-seventh century, East Syrian Catholicos Isho'yahb III (sed. 649–659) had arranged a "book (*penqītā*) of the cycle (*ḥūdrā*)." See 'Abdisho' bar Brikha, *Memra on Ecclesiastical Books* (ed. Joseph S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, vol. 3.1 [Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1725], 139) and Anton Baumstark, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten: Eine liturgiegeschichtliche Vorarbeit* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1910), 62. Vatican Syriac 116, fols. 36v–42r, written in 853, contains a brief series of "responses (*'enyānē*) of every kind for the cycle (*b-ḥūdreh*) of the year. Ignatius A. Barsoum, *History of Syriac Literature and Sciences: Kitab al-lulu al-manthur fi tarikh al-ulum wa al-adab al-Suryaniyya*, trans. M. Moosa, 1st ed. (Pueblo, CO: Passeggiata Press, 2000), 34, regarded this as the earliest example of a fenqitho, though it is not nearly as lengthy or extensive as what is traditionally regarded as a fenqitho. For its description, see Assemani and Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, 1.3:86–87 (Syriac text printed on 86).

25 Brock, "The Fenqitho of the Monastery of Mar Gabriel in Tur Abdin," 168–82. Simeon is also commemorated in BL Add. 17231, a fenqitho written in 1484. See *CBM*, 1:300 (no. 19).

26 *Breviarium iuxta ritum Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Syrorum*, 7 vols. (Mosul: Typis Fratrum Prædicatorum, 1886–1896). For an outline of the contents of the Mosul Fenqitho, done by Sebastian Brock, with parallels between the Mosul Fenqitho and the Pampakuda Fenqitho (the only other published fenqitho and one which is more rare in western libraries than the Mosul Fenqitho), as well as Acharya's English translation, see Plathottathil, "Francis Acharya's Adaptation of Mosul Fenqitho," 153–61. The Mosul Fenqitho has now been reprinted by Gorgias Press and it is also available online. In Baumstark's pioneering *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr*, IX, he noted that he was able to carry out his research far away from manuscript resources in part because Prince Maximilian of Saxony had loaned him his personal copy of the Mosul Fenqitho. Digitization efforts, most notably those of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, hold out the prospect of making a large number of fenqithos easily available and signal the advent of a new era of Syriac liturgical studies, with more sources now easily available.

27 See Thomas J. Lamy, *Sancti Ephraem Syri hymni et sermons*, vol. 4 (Mechelen: Dessain), cols. 671–790; Jean Slim, "Hymne I de Saint Ephrem sur la Résurrection," *L'Orient Syrien* 12 (1967): 505–14; Jean Gribomont, "La tradition liturgique des hymnes pascales de S. Éphrem," *Parole de l'Orient* 4 (1973): 191–246, and especially Sebastian P. Brock, "The Transmission of Ephrem's Madrashe in the Syriac Liturgical Tradition," *SP* 33 (1997): 490–505, esp. 497–501. For about 500 madrashe present over the course of the Mosul Fenqitho, see Brock's comments in "The Transmission of Ephrem's Madrashe," 497.

28 Greek kanons or references to Greek kanons occur at the following places in the Mosul Fenqitho (*Breviarium iuxta ritum Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Syrorum*): 2:54, 79, 96, 389, 499, 549, 551; 3:237, 279, 312; 4:167; 5:30, 342; 6:7; 7:7, 18, 28, 57, 66, 75, 350, 353, 355, 388, 406. I am grateful to Sebastian Brock for providing me with his index of kanons in the Mosul Fenqitho and allowing me to check my own list of Greek canons against his list of canons, Greek and otherwise – thereby saving me from a number of errors. Brock's list is unpublished, but his forthcoming "Interactions between Greek and Syriac Hymnography" contains indices that list kanons written by (or traditionally attributed to) John of Damascus and Kosmas which appear in the Mosul and Pampakuda Fenqithos as well as the Beth Gazo Rabo of Julius Çiçek.

29 Sinai Syriac New Finds Sp. 39 (see note 2, above). It was Heinrich Husmann who showed that the Greek kanons found in the Syrian Orthodox liturgy were taken from Chalcedonian translations. See his "Die melkitische Liturgie als Quelle der syrischen Qanune iaonaie. Melitene und Edessa," *OCP* 41 (1975): 5–56.

30 See Anton Baumstark, "Der Jambische Pfingstkanon des Johannes von Damaskus in einer alten Melchitisch-Syrischen Übersetzung," *OrChr* 36 (1939–1941): 205–23 and Husmann, "Die melkitische Liturgie," 41. All of Codex Syriacus Secundus was published in a facsimile edition by Werner Strothmann, *Codex Syriacus Secundus: Bibel-Palimpsest aus d. 6./7. Jh. (Katalog Hiersemann 500/3)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977).

31 For example BL Add. 17234, a Syriac Chalcedonian manuscript of the thirteenth century, contains kanons ascribed to John of Damascus, Kosmas, Andrew, Joseph, Mark, and Theophanes; see *CBM*, 1:317–18. Similarly, BL Add. 17233 has kanons ascribed to John, Kosmas, Joseph, Mark, and Theophanes; see *CBM* 1:316–17. In both instances, Wright attempted to give more precise identifications of these figures, but proper study of the kanons is required to be certain as to their exact identity. Although John of Damascus was himself a Dyothelete, the presence of Greek canons in Maronite liturgical texts raises the possibility that both Dyothelete and Monothelete Chalcedonians were translating these texts into Syriac; for this, see Brock, "Interactions between Syriac and Greek Hymnography," n. 41. If Miaphysites made use of Chalcedonian texts, it is hard to see why Monotheletes would have a special problem using Dyothelete texts.

32 See the text and translation in Robert W. Thomson, "An Eighth-Century Melkite Colophon from Edessa," *JThS* 13 (1962): 253.

33 St. Petersburg, Russian National Library Or. 432, for which see Nina V. Pigulevskaya, "Greko-Siro-Arabskaya rukopis' IV v." *Palestinsky Sbornik* 1 (63): 59–90 (including images of the manuscript) and on which see Dmitry A. Morozov, "The Bible and Arabic Philology in Russia (1773–2011)," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1 (2013): 278–79; and Paul Géhin, "Écrire le grec en lettres syriaques: les hymnes du Sinaï syr. 27," in *Scripts beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World*, ed. Johannes den Heijer, Andrea B. Schmidt, and Tamara Pataridze (Louvain: Peeters, 2014), 166n.42, who notes that it came from Mar Saba. I am grateful to Alexander Treiger for help with this reference. Willem Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 12, dates this manuscript to the eighth century.

34 For this and a partial publication of the text, see Isḥāq Armala, "Al-Malakiyūn: baṭriyarkiyyatuhum al-Anṭākiyya, wa-lughatuhum al-waṭaniyya wa-'l-ṭaqsiyya" *Al-Machriq* 34 (1936): 517 and Joseph Nasrallah, "La liturgie des Patriarcats melchites de 969 à 1300,' *OrChr* 71 (1987): 159. Compare this with the probably sixth-century ordo published by Rahmani in which an archdeacon in church speaks Greek, the scriptures are read in Greek and Syriac, and a "Greek" deacon and a "Syrian" deacon dismiss those from the congregation who have not been sealed (i.e. baptized) before the beginning of the eucharistic service. For the Syriac text, see Ignatius E. Rahmani, ed., *Studia Syriaca*, vol. 3 (Charfeh: Typis Patriarchalibus in Seminario Scharfensi, 1908), 1–4. An English translation and study of this text will be published by S. P. Brock as "An Episcopal *Adventus* in Syriac" in a forthcoming *Festschrift* for Kallistos Ware.

35 Géhin, "Écrire le grec en lettres syriaques," 155–86, surveys the evidence as does Sebastian P. Brock, "Greek and Latin in Syriac Script," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 17.1 (2014): 33–52. Cyril Charon (Korolevsky), *History of the Melkite Patriarchates: Volume 3.1: Institutions, Liturgy, Hierarchy, and Statistics*, trans. John Collorafi, ed. Nicholas Samra (Fairfax, VA: Eastern Christian Publications, 2000), 152–61 gives an overview of the use and knowledge of Greek, Syriac, and Arabic among Chalcedonians in Syria and Palestine up till the early twentieth century that remains useful.

36 See Heinrich Husmann, "Die syrische Handschriften des Sinai-Klosters, Herkunft und Schreiber," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 24 (1975): 281–308, esp. 304–06.

37 For Julian Saba (d. 366/7) at the Sinai, see Brock, *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments (New Finds) in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai*, xvii.

38 Piacenza Pilgrim, *Itinerary*, 37. Latin text in Paul Geyer, ed., *Itinera Hierosolymitana. Saeculi IIII–VIII*, CSEL 39 (Prague: Tempsky, 1898), 184; English translation available in John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Westminster: Aris and Phillips, 2002), 146.

39 On the languages of medieval liturgy at St. Catherine's (Georgian should also be included) and relative numbers of liturgical manuscripts at the Sinai, see Nasrallah, "La liturgie des Patriarcats melchites de 969 à 1300," 166. Sebastian P. Brock, "Syriac on Sinai: The Main Connections," in *ΕΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ: Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, ed. Vincenzo Ruggieri and Luca Pieralli (Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro): Rubbettino, 2003), 103–17, discusses the presence of Syriac at the Sinai throughout late antiquity and the middle ages.

40 For this point and for full bibliographic references, see Alexander Treiger, "Syro-Arabic Translations in Abbasid Palestine: The Case of John of Apamea's *Letter on Stillness*," *Parole de l'Orient* 39 (2014): 82–83. Sebastian P. Brock, "Syriac into Greek at Mar Saba: The Translation of St. Isaac the Syrian," in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich (Louvain: Peeters, 2001), 201–08, is the classic description of the presence of Syriac at Mar Saba.

41 See Robert Blake, "La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIIIe siècle," *Le Muséon* 78 (1965): 367–80 and especially Cyril Mango, "Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest," in *Scritture, Libri e Testi nelle Aree Provinciali di Bisanzio*, vol. 1, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Giuseppe De Gregorio, and Marilena Maniaci (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull' alto Medioevo, 1991), 149–60.

42 Marie-France Auzépy, "De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIII–IXe siècles): Etienne le sabaïte et Jean Damascène," *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994): 183–218. For the Greek text of the typikon of Mar Saba, see Eduard Kurtz's edition in *Byzantinsche Zeitschrift* 3 (1894): 168–70. An English translation by Gianfranco Ficcadori is available in John Thomas and Angela C. Hero, eds., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 4:1316–17. On the date of the typikon, see most recently, Michael McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land. Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2011), 142–43.

43 For Samuel writing a number of works in Syriac, see Gennadius of Marseilles, *Lives of Illustrious Men* 83 (ed. Ernest C. Richardson, *Liber de viris inlustribus* [Leipzig, 1896], 89–90; English translation by Ernest C. Richardson, in NPNF 2.3:399). Nothing written by Samuel survives. For Samuel at the Second Council of Ephesus, see Johannes P. G. Flemming, *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449: Syrisch* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1917), 28.26–27, 38.26ff, 42.29–31, 44.1–4, 46.26–27, 52.14–19.

44 On Theophilos, see Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur* (Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1922), 341–42; and Robert Hoyland, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the Circulation of Historical Knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 6–7.

45 For Michael Synkellos, see Robert Browning and Alexander Kazhdan's article, "Michael Synkellos," *ODB*, 2:1369–70. On Theodore Abū Qurra, see Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 12.8 (ed. Chabot 4.495 [Syriac] = 3.32 [French translation]).

46 Heinrich Husmann also raised the possibility of the kanons having been translated at Mar Saba in Palestine. See his "Die melkitische Liturgie als Quelle der syrischen Qanune iaonaie. Melitene und Edessa," 56.

47 Albert van Roey published a critical edition of the letter of Elia with Latin translation in *Eliae epistula apologetica ad Leonem, syncellum Harranensem*, CSCO 469–470,

Syr. 201–202 (Leuven: Peeters, 1985). In his Latin translation of the letter (30n. 103), van Roey argued in fact that Elia used a Syriac translation of John's *Fount of Wisdom* and was not simply translating from the Greek himself.

48 For a description of BL Add. 14593, see *CBM*, 2:590–91. Note that John Klimax was read by Miaphysites as well as by Chalcedonians. Herman Teule has suggested that BL Add. 14593 is a Miaphysite manuscript, but the reasons he gives are not conclusive: see his "L'Échelle du Paradis de Jean Climaque dans la tradition syriaque: premières investigations," *Parole de l'Orient* 20 (1995): 285, with 285 n40 offering good reasons why this may have been a Chalcedonian manuscript.

49 The Syrian Orthodox liturgical tradition is characterized by two different traditions, an Eastern one and a Western one, corresponding to the jurisdictions of the Patriarch of Antioch and Maphrian in Tikrit (see Baby Varghese, "Some Common Elements in the East and the West Syrian Liturgies," *The Harp* 13 [2000]: 65). Barsoum, *History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, 22–23, notes that Greek kanons appear in the Western Syrian Orthodox liturgical tradition.

50 For BL Add. 14515 and BL Add. 17190 as the two oldest examples of the *ḥūdrā* or fenqitho in Syriac, see Husmann, "Die Gesänge der syrischen Liturgien," 90 and Sebastian P. Brock, "Manuscrits liturgiques en syriaque," in *Les liturgies syriaques*, ed. François Cassingena-Trévedy (Paris: Geuthner, 2006), 276 (and cf. Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 51n5). For their description, see *CBM*, 1:240–44. Even older than these manuscripts is Dayr al-Suryān Syriac 37, which has only recently come to light for western scholars. For a description of Dayr al-Suryān Syr. 37, see S. P. Brock and L. van Rompay, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian, Wadi al-Natrun (Egypt)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 260–71; this manuscript is written in two different hands, the first from about the year 800 and the second from 887. For BL Add. 14516, see *CBM*, 1:244–46. Barsoum, *History of Syriac literature and sciences*, 34–36, provides a list of the oldest fenqitho manuscripts, giving Vatican Syriac 116 (written in 853) as the oldest. The six folios in question are much shorter than a typical fenqitho and contain no Greek kanons.

51 BL Add. 14523, also of the ninth or tenth century, contains Greek kanons on the Resurrection; see the description in *CBM*, 1:293 and BL Add. 14667, from the tenth century, which contains Greek kanons (*CBM*, 1:295).

52 BL Add. 14513, a Syrian Orthodox manuscript which Wright dated to the ninth or tenth century, contains a collection of twelve Greek kanons. See the description in *CBM*, 1:292, and cf. Baumstark, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr*, 74.

53 We know this from a citation of a lost work of La'azar by Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286). See Bar 'Ebroyo, *Ethicon* 1.5.4 (ed. Herman G. B. Teule, *Gregory Barhebraeus. Ethicon, Memra I*. [CSCO 534–535: SS 218–219] [Leuven: Peeters, 1993]: 73 [Syriac] = 62–63 [English translation]). On La'azar bar Sabta, see Lucas van Rompay, "Lo'ozar bar Sobtho," *GEDSH*, 251–52. See below for the full citation of this passage. Baumstark, *Geshichte*, 268, argued that the transfer of these Greek kanons into Syrian Orthodox circles must have begun in the second half of the eighth century based on the fact that only the works of Palestinian authors of kanons, like John of Damascus and Cosmas of Maiouma, were found in Syrian Orthodox manuscripts and not kanons written by Constantinopolitan authors such as Theodore the Studite.

54 See Aelred Cody, "The Early History of the Octoechos in Syria," in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period: Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980*, ed. Nina G. Garsoian, Thomas F. Mathews, and Robert W. Thomson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 103, for this quote and these points.

55 For BL Add. 14507, see *CBM*, 1:283–85. Compare these with BL Add. 17723, a Syrian Orthodox manuscript of the thirteenth century which also contains Greek and Syrian kanons (see *CBM*, 1:290–91.) For BL 14695, see *CBM*, 1:285–86. The Syriac text referring to "book of the Greek and Syrian kanons of the entire cycle of the year" is printed on 285.

56 See the comments in Barsoum, *History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, 23 and see, too, the Mosul Fenqitho on Greek vs. Syrian/Eastern kanons: *Breviarium iuxta ritum Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Syrorum*, 6:54. For examples of an "Eastern" kanon in the Mosul Fenqitho, see 2:27, 55, 260, 535. For an example of a Syrian kanon, see 2:79.

57 Heinrich Husmann, "Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: Altsyrisch-Melkitisch," *OCP* 42 (1976): 168–70. Note that BL 14505, a tenth-century Miaphysite manuscript, ascribes kanons to a certain Mar John, who composed kanons at Callinicum; see *CBM*, 1:282.

58 For tenth-century *'enyānē* in BL 12145, see *CBM*, 1:252 (no. 22). This manuscript also contains Greek and Syrian kanons. For twelfth- or thirteenth-century *'enyānē* in BL Add. 14698, a Syrian Orthodox tropologion, see *CBM*, 1:288–89.

59 *CBM*, 1:251–54. The "rite of the Syrian *'enyānē* of the Resurrection" are fols. 118a–139a (description at 252 no. 22). Greek and Syrian kanons on the Theotokos, the saints, and the departed, in eight tones, are fols. 160b–181b (description at 253, no. 34). A Greek kanon on the burial of the Mother of God is on fols. 185b–189a (description at 253, no. 36). For an example of a "Greek *'enyānā*" in the Mosul Fenqitho, see *Breviarium iuxta ritum Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Syrorum*, 2:176.

60 Husmann, "Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: Altsyrisch-Melkitisch," 169. Contrast Husmann's comments with those of Odilo Heiming, *Syrische 'Eniânê und griechische kanones: die HS. Sach. 349 der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (Münster in Wesft.: Verlag der Aschenierffschen Verlagsbuchandlung, 1932), VII: "'*Eniânâ* und Kanon sind wesentlich daselbe: Responsoriengefüge." For the kanon gradually replacing the chanting of the nine biblical canticles in the morning office in Greek-speaking Byzantium and the relationship between these two, see Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 141–43.

61 See Cody, "The Early History of the Octoechos in Syria," 98, and esp. n. 61 and n. 62. Cody (n. 62) gives examples of *qānūnē* and *'enyānē* being used as synonyms in Chalcedonian and Miaphysite manuscripts. Disentangling these two categories and understanding the transmission of *'enyānē* between Chalcedonian and Miaphysite manuscripts and between Greek and Syriac is an extremely complicated endeavor which I will not attempt to enter into here. It remains a scholarly desideratum.

62 ܐܝܬܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܡܕܝܢܬ ܡܘܣܦ. William Wright translated this as "according to the Mesopotamian use." BL Add. 17135, fol. 62. For all this, see *CBM*, 1:293–94, esp. 293.

63 Berlin 16 (Sachau 349) see Eduard Sachau, *Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Asher, 1899), 43 for the Syriac text of these citations and their location in the manuscript; Sachau suggests a tenth- or eleventh-century date at 51. "Greeks" here should be understood as referring to Chalcedonian Christians. Odilo Heiming studied the Greek kanons in this manuscript in his *Syrische 'Eniânê und griechische kanones: die HS. Sach. 349 der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*; for the references I have cited here, see p. 50 of this work.

64 BL Add. 14697. For a description of the manuscript, see *CBM*, 1:286–88 (Syriac text referring to the "precise revision, that is, the mode and tradition of the Edessenes" at 286).

65 BL Add. 14699 and BL Add. 14700. The manuscripts' information about these kanons being Melitenian was not recorded by Wright in his catalog descriptions (*CBM*, 1:304–6) but was noted in Humphrey W. Codrington, "A Medieval Eastern Sacramentary," *The Eastern Churches Quarterly* 4 (1940): 305.

66 For the ܣܘܒܥܐ ܕܥܝܕܐ See Zotenberg, *Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 112 (no. 21, Holy Week, no. 24: on the Resurrection ,ܣܘܒܥܐ ܕܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܥܝܕܐ ܒܫܒܐ).

67 See Zotenberg, *Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques*, 111. The Miaphysite BL Add. 14698 contains kanons which it describes variously as Greek, Syrian, Edessene, and Melitenian. Wright, however, did not note this in his description of the manuscript

(*CBM*, 1:288–99), though it was noted by Codrington in "A Medieval Eastern Sacramentary," 305. Codrington's article has not been widely cited or apparently known by subsequent scholarship.

68 See Heinrich Husmann, "Die syrische Auferstehungskanones und ihre griechischen Vorlagen," *OCP* 38 (1972): 215.

69 Husmann, "Die melkitische Liturgie als Quelle der syrischen Qanune iaonaie. Melitene und Edessa," 5–10, and "Die syrische Auferstehungskanones und ihre griechischen Vorlagen," 209–14, summarizes the scholarship on the Greek kanons from Zotenberg through Baumstark and up to the point of his own contributions, which were foundational.

70 See the summary of his findings in Husmann, "Die syrische Auferstehungskanones und ihre griechischen Vorlagen," 215–16.

71 See Husmann's comments, "Die syrische Auferstehungskanones und ihre griechischen Vorlagen," 210. For Joseph Molitor's work, see "Byzantinische Troparia und Kontakia in syro-melchitischer Überlieferung, herausgegeben und übersetzt," *OrChr* 3–4 (1930): 1–36, 179–99, 6 (1931): 43–59, 8 (1933): 72–85, 164–79.

72 Husmann, "Die syrische Auferstehungskanones und ihre griechischen Vorlagen," 215.

73 The dissertation is Ludger Bernhard, *Syrische Rezensionen von Kanones des Kosmas Hagioplites* (Ph.D. diss., München, 1951). I have been unable to see Bernhard's dissertation, but Husmann, "Die melkitische Quelle," 8, summarizes Bernhard's findings.

74 Zotenberg had already signaled in 1874 that the kanons found in Paris Syriac 155 were essentially identical to the same kanons found in Chalcedonian manuscripts. See Zotenberg, *Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 111. See the comments of Husmann in "Die melkitische Quelle," 9.

75 Husmann, "Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: Altsyrisch-Melkitisch," 156–96, esp. 160. Husmann also pointed to Greek manuscripts like Sinai Greek 863, Sinai Greek 864, and Paris Gr. 331, which contain materials that antedate the Byzantinization of the liturgy of Syria and which must have been based on eastern (i.e. Syrian or non-Byzantine exemplars). He termed such manuscripts "paläogräko-melkitisch" or "altgriechisch-melkitisch" (160).

76 For "Die allegemeine Fassung G" see Husmann, "Die melkitische Quelle," 10.

77 On the phenomenon of liturgical Byzantinization – the spread of the liturgical practices of Constantinople throughout the patriarchates of the eastern Mediterranean – see most recently, Daniel Galadza, *Worship of the Holy City in Captivity: The Liturgical Byzantinization of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem After the Arab Conquest (8th–13th c.)* (Rome: Excerpta ex dissertatione ad doctoratum, 2013), 36–37; and Robert Taft, "Liturgy," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, and Robin Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 607–08. For an overview of the liturgical Byzantinization of the Chalcedonian liturgies of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and the Sinai, see Nasrallah, "La liturgie des Patriarcats melchites de 969 à 1300," 156–81. Charon (Korolevsky), *History of the Melkite Patriarchates*: *Volume 3.1: Institutions, Liturgy, Hierarchy, and Statistics*, 1–26, gives an overview of the Byzantinization of the liturgy of the Chalcedonian patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem that is still valuable.

78 Gregory Bar 'Ebroyo, *Ethicon* 1.5.4. The English translation here is that of Herman G. B. Teule, *Gregory Barhebraeus: Ethicon, Memra I*, CSCO 534–535, Syr. 218–219 (Louvain: Peeters, 1993), 72 (Syriac text) = 62–63 (English translation). I have altered Teule's spelling.

79 Dionysios bar Salibi, *Against the Melkites* 5 (English translation taken from Alphonse Mingana, ed. and trans., *Woodbrooke Studies, Volume 1*, 36–37 (English) = 75 [Syriac]). I have slightly altered Mingana's spelling.

80 Dionysios bar Salibi, *Against the Melkites* 5 (English translation taken from Mingana, ed. and trans., *Woodbrooke Studies, Volume 1*, 37 (English) = 76 [Syriac]).
81 Dionysios bar Salibi, *Against the Melkites* 5 (English translation taken from Mingana, ed. and trans., *Woodbrooke Studies, Volume 1*, 37–38 (English) = 76 [Syriac]).
82 Dionysios bar Salibi, *Against the Melkites* 9 (English translation taken from Mingana, ed. and trans., *Woodbrooke Studies, Volume 1*, 57 (English) = 88 [Syriac]). I have slightly altered Mingana's spelling.
83 Dionysios bar Salibi, *Against the Melkites* 4 (English translation taken from Mingana, ed. and trans., *Woodbrooke Studies, Volume 1*, 35 (English) = 74 [Syriac]).
84 Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.20 (ed. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4.457–58 = 2.492 [French translation]).
85 Husmann, "Die melkitische Liturgie als Quelle der syrischen Qanune iaonaie," 55–56.
86 See Hidemi Takahashi, "Melitene," *GEDSH*, 283–84, esp. 284.
87 See Sebastian P. Brock, "The Syriac 'New Finds' at St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, and Their Significance," *The Harp* 27 (2011): 50.
88 For Jacob of Sarugh in Sinai Syriac 233A, see Husmann, "Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: Altsyrisch-Melkitisch," 195–96.
89 Sebastian P. Brock, "An Extract from Jacob of Serugh in the East Syrian Ḥudra," *OCP* 55 (1989): 339–43. On the fenqitho and the hudra, see above, n. 24.
90 Brock, "Some Early Witnesses to the East Syriac Liturgical Tradition," 44–45.
91 Cody, "The Early History of the Octoechos in Syria," 100. On differences between the eight-week cycle of the Chalcedonian and Miaphysite churches, see Heinrich Husmann, "Syrian Church Music," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 18, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan, 1980), 475. In the Syrian Orthodox tradition, only the melodies change over the course of the eight-week cycle, not the hymns. On the *oktoechos* in the Latin, Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic traditions, see Peter Jeffery, "The Earliest Oktōēchoi: The Role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Beginnings of Modal Ordering," in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West: In Honor of Kenneth Levy*, ed. Peter Jeffery (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2001), 147–209.
92 See for example Varghese, "Some Common Elements in the East and the West Syrian Liturgies," 65–76, which explores connections between the Syrian Orthodox and East Syrian liturgies. A sense for the great amount of work that remains to be done on the Syrian Orthodox liturgical tradition can be gotten from Varghese's "West Syriac Liturgy: One Hundred Years of Research," *The Harp* 27 (2011): 53–72.
93 For Jacob of Edessa commemorated by the Maronites on January 27, see Jean-Maurice Fiey, *Saints Syriaques* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2004), 107. For George of the Arabs commemorated by Maronites in Lebanon, see Fiey, *Saints Syriaques*, 83. Compare Jack Tannous, "L'hagiographie syro-occidentale à la période islamique," in *L'hagiographie syriaque*, ed. André Binggeli (Paris: Geuthner, 2012), 231.
94 Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Le calendrier maronite du manuscrit Vatican syriaque 313," *OCP* 33 (1967): 223–24.
95 See Sauget, "Le calendrier maronite du manuscrit Vatican syriaque 313," 226. Compare Tannous, "L'hagiographie syro-occidentale à la période islamique," 231.
96 See Lucas van Rompay, "The Syriac Version of the 'Life of Symeon Salos': First Soundings," in *Philohistôr: Miscellanea in Honorem Caroli Laga Septuagenarii*, ed. Antoon Schoors and Peter van Deun (Leuven: Peeters/Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1994), 387–88.
97 There is an East Syrian verse panegyric about John that also exists. See Sebastian P. Brock, "A Syriac Life of John of Dailam," *Parole de l'Orient* 10 (1981–1982): 123–24. John is commemorated by the Syrian Orthodox, the Church of the East, the *Rūm* (i.e. Dyothelete Chalcedonians), and the Maronites; see Fiey, *Saints Syriaques*, 119.
98 For the mid-twentieth century debate on Jacob of Sarugh's precise ecclesiastical affiliation, see Taeke Jansma, "The Credo of Jacob of Sĕrūgh: A Return to Nicea

and Constantinople," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 44 (1961): 18–36, esp. 18–19. For the translation of John of Dalyatha (in addition to Aphrahat, Ephrem, Jacob of Sarugh, and John of Apamea, and others) into Arabic in Palestine, see Alexander Treiger, "Syro-Arabic Translations in Abbasid Palestine," 82–83.

99 On the translation of Isaac of Nineveh into Syriac at Mar Saba, see Brock, "Syriac into Greek at Mar Saba: The Translation of St. Isaac the Syrian." For Sahdona, almost the entirety of what survives comes from a single manuscript which was located in St Catherine's monastery; see Sebastian P. Brock, "New Fragments of Sahdona's Book of Perfection at St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai," *OCP* 75:1 (2009): 175–78.

100 Miaphysites also copied the works of Gregory of Cyprus. For these points, see Grigory M. Kessel, "An East Syriac Book in the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery on Sinai: The Case of the Monastic Collection M20N from the 'New Finds,'" *Христианский Восток* NS 6 [12] (2013): 209.

101 Sebastian P. Brock, "Crossing the Boundaries: An Ecumenical Role Played by Syriac Monastic Literature," in *Il monachesimo tra eredità e aperture*, ed. Maciej Bielawski and Daniel Hombergen (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 2004), 221–38, especially Table 2 on 231.

102 See Sebastian P. Brock, "Notulae Syriacae: Some Miscellaneous Identifications," *Le Muséon* 108 (1995): 72–73. For portions of Philoxenos' *Letter to Patricius* found in Sinai Syriac 14, see Brock, "Crossing the Boundaries," 235.

103 Timothy said they should not be rebaptized. For the Syriac text of this letter, see Oscar Braun, *Timothei patriarchae I epistulae*, CSCO 2.67 (Paris: e Typographeo Reipublicae, 1914): 3–29. For a date of 780/781, see Raphaël Bidawid, *Les lettres du patriarche nestorien Timothée I: Étude critique avec, en appendice, la lettre de Timothée I aux moines du Couvent de Mar Maron (traduction latine et texte chaldeen)* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1956), 73 (French summary at 18–19). Note Timothy's statement (28–29) that the baptism of the Church of the East, "Melkites," and Severans is one (a similar statement is made at 17ln14). These are perhaps the earliest attested usages of the word "Melkite" (*malkāyē*) in Syriac; cp. with other attestations in Sidney H. Griffith, " 'Melkites', 'Jacobites' and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in Third/Ninth-Century Syria," 13n15.

104 See Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 12.8 (ed. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* 4.495 [Syriac] = 3.32 [French translation]).

105 Bidawid, *Les lettres du patriarche nestorien Timothée I*, p. ٥٦ ; for the date of this letter and a French translation, see 60.

106 See Arthur Vööbus, ed., *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition I*, CSCO 367, Syr. 161, 243–44 (Syriac text). English translation in Arthur Vööbus, ed., *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition I*, CSCO 368, Syr. 162), 224.

107 For a question from John the Stylite of Litarb to Jacob of Edessa concerning what should be done about Syrian Orthodox who have seized a church from heretics (in this case, likely Chalcedonians) and celebrated a liturgy without a bishop's presence, and, conversely, what to do in the case of Syrian Orthodox who have gotten their church back from heretics and celebrated a liturgy without a bishop's presence, see Vööbus, ed. and trans., *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition*, CSCO 367–368, Syr. 161–162, 244 (Syriac) = 224 (English translation). For a report of Chalcedonians violently seizing a large number of Syrian Orthodox churches throughout Syria, probably around 630, see Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.3 (ed. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4.410 = 2.412 [French translation]). For the famous Rabbula Codex, written in 586, as having a possible Syrian Orthodox origin but passing into Maronite hands, see Lucas van Rompay, "Excursus: The Maronites," in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, ed. Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 172. For a question of Addai to Jacob of Edessa concerning what should be done with a priest who takes an altar and liturgical vessels from Chalcedonians and then returns them to them, see Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 259 (Syriac) = 236 (English).

108 See the report in the *Qenneshre Fragment*, a text which dates from perhaps the ninth century, in François Nau, ed. and trans., "Notice historique sur le monastère de Qartamin, suivie d'une note sur le monastère de Qennešré," in *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des Orientalistes, Alger 1897. IIe partie: Section II (Langues sémitiques)* (Paris: Leroux, 1907), 131 (Syriac) = 119–120 (French translation). Chalcedonians, the fragment states, took the monastery and celebrated the eucharist in it in the time of Domitian, the "Chalcedonian king." For Domitian, the bishop of Melitene and a persecutor of Miaphysites during the reign of Maurice (reg. 582–602), see Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 10.23 (ed. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4.387 = 2.372 [French translation]) and see Nau, "Notice historique sur le monastère," 119n2. The Qenneshre Fragment has recently been reedited with an English translation by Michael Penn; see his "Demons Gone Wild: An Introduction, and Translation of the Syriac Qenneshre Fragment," *OCP* 79 (2013): 367–99 and also his study of the fragment in "The Composition of the Qenneshrē Fragment," in *Aramaic in Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from the 2004 National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar at Duke University*, ed. Eric M. Meyers and Paul V.M. Flesher (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 33–47.

109 Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.22 [ed. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4.460–61 [Syriac] = 2.495 [French translation]).

110 In his *Letter* 43, *To Pethion*, Timothy refers to having possession of the Syriac version of Paul of Edessa's translation of the discourses of Gregory Nazianzen and asks Pethion to send him Athanasios of Balad's revision of this translation (43.8), as well the translation of the same Athanasius or Phokas of Edessa of Ps. Dionysios (43.12). All of these translators were Miaphysites. For the Syriac text, see Martin Heimgartner, ed., *Die Briefe 42–58 des Ostsyrischen Patriarchen Timotheos I*, CSCO 644, Syr. 248 (Louvain: Peeters, 2012), 67–68. An English translation of these passages is available in Sebastian P. Brock, "Two Letters of the Patriarch Timothy from the Late Eighth Century on Translations from Greek," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 9 (1999): 237 (for commentary, see 243–44). In his *Letter 47, To Sergios*, Timothy describes the process by which he had three copies of the entire Syro-Hexapla copied out, even the damage it caused to his eyesight (47.1–15). For the Syriac text, see Heimgartner, *Die Briefe 42–58 des Ostsyrischen Patriarchen Timotheos I*, CSCO 644, Syr. 248), 79–82. An English translation is available in Sebastian P. Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature* (Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1997), 245–47.

111 See Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, 2 (esp. n. 2) and 24–25. East Syrian authors who used the Syro-Hexapla included Isho'dad of Merv, Theodore bar Koni, and Isho' bar Nun.

112 Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 12.2 (ed. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* 4.481 [Syriac] = 3.6 [French translation]).

113 See Jacob's letter to Thomas the Presbyter edited by Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, 1:483–84. English translation in Frank E. Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896), 1:492–93. Jacob himself spent time studying in Alexandria; see Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.15 (ed. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*: 4.445 [Syriac] = 2.471 [French translation]).

114 See *Chronicle of Seert* 2.110 (Addai Scher and Robert Griveau, ed. and trans., *Histoire Nestorienne [Chronique de Séert] PO* 13, 634 [314]) and Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Tafsīr al-mashriqī*, vol. 1 (ed. Yūsuf Manqariyūs) (Cairo: Maṭbaʿa al-tawfīq, 1908), 80 (On the Magi of Matthew 2).

115 The Miaphysite Lectionary is BL Add. 14490. For its description, see *CBM*, 1:159–61 (Syriac note about Samuel at 160–61). The East Syrian lectionary is BL Add. 14491. See the description in *CBM* 1:179–81 (Syriac note from Samuel at 181).

116 For Chalcedonian material in Miaphysite collections: BL Add. 14711 is a Chalcedonian Syriac liturgical manuscript which was written in 1222 and later given by a certain Abū al-Surūr to the Miaphysite Dayr al-Suryān in 1277. For a description of

the manuscript, see *CBM*, 1:320–21 (Syriac colophon and Arabic *waqf* statement on 321). Brock and van Rompay, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian, Wadi al-Natrun (Egypt)*, XXIn. 45, give the following examples of Chalcedonian Syriac manuscripts and fragments held in the library of the (Miaphysite) Dayr al-Suryān: Dayr al-Suryān Syriac 7, Dayr al-Suryān Syriac 44 (a Chalcedonian liturgical manuscript for Pentecost, which contains kanons by Cosmas and John, see 323–324), Dayr al-Suryān Syriac Fragment 65 (a Chalcedonian liturgical fragment containing part of a kanon of Cosmas and from Dayr al-Suryān Syriac 44; see 408–409), and Dayr al-Suryān Fragment 141 (a liturgical fragment, see 453), See, too, BL Add. 14718, a thirteenth-century manuscript which includes a commemoration of Isaiah of Aleppo (fol. 2a), an exclusively Syrian Orthodox saint (on whom, see Fiey, *Saints Syriaques*, 99–100). One page of this manuscript (fol. 140) has been palimpsested from a Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA) manuscript. CPA was used only by Chalcedonians. For a description of BL Add. 14718, see *CBM*, 1:298–99.

117 For non-Chalcedonian material found in a Chalcedonian library, Brock, "Syriac on Sinai: The Main Connections," 117, lists both Syrian Orthodox and East Syrian manuscripts held in the library of St. Catherine's. For Sinai Syriac New Finds X2N, a liturgical manuscript as being of Syrian Orthodox provenance, see Brock, "The Syriac 'New Finds' at St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, and Their Significance," 52n41. For St. Catherine's Syriac New Finds M67N and M25N as being from the *Hexaemeron* of the Miaphysite Jacob of Sarugh, see their correct identification in Brock, "New Fragments of Sahdona's Book of Perfection," 178. Vatican Syriac 527 is an example of an East Syrian liturgical text that came into Chalcedonian possession. It is comprised of two pages from an East Syrian liturgical text and was extracted from the binding of Vatican Greek 781. See Brock, "Some Early Witnesses to the East Syrian Liturgical Tradition," 13–19 and Mariano Ugolini, "Due frammenti di un antichissimo salterio nestoriano," *OrChr* 2 (1902): 179–86. For works of the East Syrians Babai (either Babai of Nisibis [fl. 6th–7th century] or perhaps the theologian Babai the Great [d. 628]) and Shubhalmaran (fl. 7th century) Sinai Syriac New Finds M20N, see Kessel, "An East Syriac Book in the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery on Sinai," 185–215. Kessel (187n10) gives other examples of East Syrian material in the New Finds.

118 For a comparison of Syrian Orthodox, Maronite, and (pre-Byzantinization) Chalcedonian Syriac baptismal rites, all Antiochene in nature, see Sebastian P. Brock, "Studies in the Early History of the Syrian Orthodox Baptismal Liturgy," *JThS* 23 (1972): 16–64 and, focusing specifically on the short Antiochene baptismal service found in the Chalcedonian BL Add. 14497, see Sebastian P. Brock, "A Short Melkite Baptismal Ordo," *Parole de l'Orient* 3 (1972): 119–30, esp. 130. Brock's studies stand alongside those of Husmann, especially, "Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: Altsyrisch-Melkitisch," as fundamental for understanding the Byzantinization of the Antiochene liturgy of the Chalcedonians.

119 For *bā'ūtā* used in Sinai Syriac 27 ("nach altsyrischen Brauch"), see Husmann, "Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: Altsyrisch-Melkitisch," 162. For *sedrē* in the Chalcedonian Vatican Syriac 53, see Pierre-Edmond Gemayel, "La structure des vêpres maronites," *L'Orient Syrien* 9 (1964): 122n. 31 (and see n. 31a, where Gemayel connects the disappearance of the *sedrē* from Chalcedonian liturgical texts with their abandonment of the Antiochene liturgy for that of Constantinople). For prayers in the Chalcedonian BL Add. 14497 taking the order proemion, *ḥūssāyā*/*sedrā*, and "prayer after incense" (Codrington's translation; the Syriac is not given, but presumably this is *'eṭrā*), "precisely" as Codrington puts it, "as in Jacobite and Maronite books," see Codrington, "A Medieval Eastern Sacramentary," 303. For the use of these terms in the Maronite liturgical tradition, see, e.g. Husmann, "Die Gesänge der syrischen Liturgien," 84, and more fully, Joseph P. Amar, "Syriac Strophic Poetry: Intercalated Psalms," in *To Train His Soul in Books: Syriac Asceticism in Early Christianity*, ed.

Robin A. Darling Young and Monica J. Blanchard (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 3–22.

120 See Armala's comments in "Al-Malakiyūn: baṭriyarkiyyatuhum al-Anṭākiyya, wa-lughatuhum al-waṭaniyya wa-'l-ṭaqsiyya," 521. The manuscript held in the British Museum (now British Library), is BL Add. 21031 (written in 1213). Its title begins: "With the help of God, we write the eight tones of the kanons that are said on the ordinary (*shḥīmē*) days of the entire year." For the manuscript's description, see *CBM*, 1:327–28 (Syriac text printed on 327). For *shḥimo* and *shḥimto* as liturgical books used by the Syrian Orthodox and the Maronites for their daily offices, see Brock, "Liturgy," 250; for the *sḥhimo* in the Syrian Orthodox liturgy, see Husmann, "Die Gesänge der syrischen Liturgien," 86–87.

121 Husmann, "Die syrische Auferstehungskanones und ihre griechischen Vorlagen," 209–10.

122 For the reconquest of Antioch's importance in the Byzantinization of the Chalcedonian Syriac liturgy, see Charon (Korolevsky), *History of the Melkite Patriarchates. Volume 3.1: Institutions, Liturgy, Hierarchy, and Statistics*, 16–17 and Sebastian P. Brock, "Syriac Manuscripts Copied on the Black Mountain, near Antioch," in *Lingua restituta orientalis. Festgabe für Julius Assfalg*, ed. Regine Schulz and Manfred Görg (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 66–67.

123 See e.g. Michael Gaddis, *There is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); and Thomas Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

124 For East Syrians building Miaphysite churches, see the attempt in the *Life of Simeon of the Olives* (d. 734) by East Syrian clergy at preventing the construction of a Miaphysite church outside of Nisibis by forbidding their subdeacons from helping Simeon in the church's construction: Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs 8/259, fols. 112b–113a. For cross-confessional scribal activity, see the exchange between Jacob of Edessa and Addai, his correspondent, on the permissibility of a Syrian Orthodox monk copying out anti-Miaphysite polemics in order to earn money in Thomas J. Lamy, *Dissertatio de Syrorum fide et disciplina in re eucharistica* (Louvain: Vanlinthout et socii, 1859), 154. For clergy giving the eucharist to members of other confessions, see Miaphysite Patriarch Athanasios of Balad's condemnation of priests who baptized Nestorians, Julianists, and other heretics in François Nau, 'Littérature canonique syriaque inédite,' *Revue de l'orient chrétien* 14 (1909): 130 (Syriac text and French translation). Athanasius's contemporary, the Miaphysite George of the Arabs (d. 724) has left us an ecclesiastical canon ordering the deposition of any priest or deacon who gave the eucharist to a heretic; see Paul Bedjan, ed., *Nomocanon Gregorii Barhebraei* (Paris: Harrassowitz, 1898), 42.

125 See Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs 310, fols. 212b–213b and Harvard Syriac 93, fols. 25a–26a.

126 Dionysios bar Salibi, *Against the Melkites* 5 (English translation taken from Mingana, ed. and trans., *Woodbrooke Studies, Volume 1*, 62 (English) = 91 [Syriac]).

127 Such sources and the people who wrote them did not necessarily look askance on religious violence either, something which has likely distorted our view of the role violence played in religious differentiation.

128 The translation is that of E. W. Brooks in *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis*, 7.4 (*Letter to Naunus, Bishop of Seleucia*) (1.2:422–23 [Syriac text] =2.2:375 [English translation]). On Pelagios's bringing Nestorians into the monastery of St. Thomas, see especially 1.2:422–23 (Syriac) = 2.2:374–75 [English translation]).

129 Ps.-Athanasios, *Canons* (*Clavis Patrum Graecorum* 2302), 12. My translation. (Compare Wilhelm Riedel and Walter E. Crum, ed. and trans., *The Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria: The Arabic and Coptic Versions* [London: Williams and Norgate, 1904], p. 18* [Arabic] = p. 24 [in Riedel's English translation]).

9 Various orthodoxies

Feasts of the Incarnation of Christ in Jerusalem during the first Christian millennium

Daniel Galadza

How one celebrates – or does not celebrate – a certain holiday can be an immediate sign of adherence to a particular theology or membership in a distinct religious group. Among Palestinian Christians, the liturgical commemoration of the Incarnation of Christ was a matter of conflict in late antique Jerusalem, with communal identity depending on when and how one celebrated. Here we examine how various groups within Jerusalem's Chalcedonian Patriarchate celebrated the seasons of Christmas and Theophany from the fifth century onward. The primary sources for this investigation are liturgical manuscripts reflecting the practice of worship and celebrations in Jerusalem in the long and varied period from the fifth through twelfth centuries. Structural analysis of liturgical units traces the development of individual elements of the eucharistic *Liturgy of St. James* celebrated on Christmas in these manuscripts.[1] This analysis reveals that the variety of liturgical practices present in manuscripts from Jerusalem has less to do with a conscious effort to express doctrinally sound theology in the wake of Christological controversies stemming from the Council of Chalcedon and more to do with "metamorphosing" Hagiopolite liturgical traditions under increasing foreign influence from Constantinople, a phenomenon known as liturgical "Byzantinization."

Liturgy in Jerusalem

The rites and rituals of Christians in Jerusalem were marked by the region's unique sacred topography directly connected to the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.[2] This meant that, rather than remembering these events within the liturgy as having occurred somewhere far away, the assembled faithful would go to the actual places of salvation history from the Old and New Testaments, a phenomenon observed already by pilgrims to Jerusalem from as early as the fourth century. The resulting "stational liturgy" of processions to holy places produced a local calendar and lectionary distinct from those of neighboring liturgical centers, such as Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople.[3] The holy places themselves were commemorated in the local eucharistic liturgy attributed to James, the brother of the Lord and traditionally the first bishop of Jerusalem.[4]

This distinct calendar, lectionary, and eucharistic liturgy were common to both the cathedral of Jerusalem and its outlying monasteries. Despite physical isolation

in the Judean wilderness, Palestinian monasteries were integrated into the liturgical life of the Holy City as stations in the processional liturgy and places of baptism, and the monks of the monasteries played an integral role in the liturgical celebrations at the Holy Sepulcher.[5] The international character of monasticism in the Holy Land established a linguistic hierarchy, with Greek speakers taking leadership roles and the local population of Syriac speakers relegated to second place. Georgians were also present, and the liturgical books copied by their scribes at the Lavra of St. Sabas and the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai provide unparalleled information on prayer and worship in Jerusalem from the eighth century onwards.[6] Palestine was also the heart of Greek hymnographic composition, much of it translated into, and today often preserved only in, Georgian.[7] Because the ancient liturgy of Jerusalem has been lost, identifying its manuscript sources, their structural elements, and liturgical propers can be a laborious task;[8] nevertheless, the feasts of the Incarnation of Christ, namely his birth (Nativity/Christmas) and baptism (Theophany), are better documented and are the focus of this investigation.[9]

The origins of the celebration of Christmas and Theophany

Ironically, the earliest testimony of a liturgical celebration of the birth of Christ distinct from his baptism from comes not from Bethlehem or Palestine but from Rome.[10] Christmas (τὰ γενέθλια, τὰ θεοφάνια, as well as ἡ ἐπιφάνεια) was known on December 25 in Rome already by 336, and Christmas and Theophany (ἡ ἐπιφάνεια, ἡ θεοφάνεια, τὰ φῶτα) were known as distinct celebrations in Constantinople by the time of Gregory Nazianzos at the end of the fourth century.[11] Meanwhile in the region of Jerusalem, fragments of a homily by Titus of Bostra (d. ca. 378) for Theophany suggest that the feast there still focused exclusively on the birth of Christ, rather than his baptism.[12]

Although the origins of Christmas are a murky subject that will likely never be resolved completely, there is an abundance of scholarship on this question. Since 1949, two theories have emerged, one arguing that the date of Christmas was chosen to replace competing pagan celebrations on the same date, known as the "History of Religions hypothesis" or *religionsgeschichtliche Hypothese*, and the other, known as the "Calculation hypothesis" or *Berechnungshypothese*, arguing that Christmas was calculated from the date of Christ's conception and death. According to this theory, Jesus' conception and death would have fallen on the same day in accordance with the idea of a "full life cycle" and strengthening the connection between his birth and death. Hieronymus Engberding and Thomas Talley promoted this second theory, although both scholars admit the lack of definitive, extant evidence to resolve the debate.[13] Other scholars have looked for calculations in other parts of the liturgical year, which they see as reflections of the harmonious inner workings of the "historical teleology" presented in the Bible.[14] One such theory, "paired-dating," or *Gegendatierung* of two saints or events several months apart, was put forward by Georg Kretschmar.[15] According to this theory, the placement of liturgical commemorations throughout the year was an attempt to make the relationships of these commemorations

explicit in their theological expression. Although "paired-dating" is tendentious, it does point to the importance of the placement of a certain feast in the calendar in relationship to another. The best example of this is what Anton Baumstark named "concomitant feasts," or the commemoration of important figures the day after the event or feast with which they are associated. For example, feasts of the Theotokos the day after Christmas on December 26 and of John the Baptist the day after Theophany on January 7 were found in Antiochene calendars and made their way into the Byzantine Rite.[16]

Jerusalem's earliest liturgical source: the Armenian Lectionary

In Jerusalem, we find the feast of the birth of Christ still celebrated on January 6 in the Holy City's earliest liturgical calendar, the "Armenian Lectionary," an Armenian translation of a Greek original.[17] The source refers to itself as a "record of the synaxes as they are kept in Jerusalem at the holy places of Christ, in which is indicated the date of the month and the reading of the day, and in which is indicated the psalm appropriate to the feasts and to the memorials."[18] Although it comes down to us in tenth-century manuscripts, Charles Renoux believes it reflects the usage of the Church of Jerusalem between CE 415, the discovery of the relics of St. Stephen in Kapar Gamla, and 439, the construction of the church of St. Stephen, not mentioned in the Armenian Lectionary. Renoux notes a reference in the *Life of Melania* to a celebration of the birth of Christ in Bethlehem on December 25, 439, but suggests this was not a universal practice in the Church of Jerusalem.[19] In fact, the *Life of Peter the Iberian* mentions the Abbot Gerontios celebrating private daily liturgy for Melania "according to the custom of the Church of Rome" alongside the services he held for the men's and women's monastic communities on the Mount of Olives.[20]

On the eve of the feast, the Armenian Lectionary prescribes a "canon" (or order of a liturgical service) at the place of the shepherds near Bethlehem consisting of an antiphon and a Gospel reading and then a Vigil in the cave at Bethlehem with eleven Old Testament readings and a Gospel:

> *The Feast of the Holy Theophany takes place on January 6. On the fifth, they gather at the place of the Shepherds at the tenth hour and perform this canon:*[21]
>
> *Antiphon*: "The Lord is my shepherd . . ." (Ps 22:1)
> *Alleluia*: "O shepherd of Israel, hear, you who lead . . ." (Ps 79)
> *Gospel*: Luke 2:8–20 – Appearance of an angel to the shepherds
>
> *Then they gather in the cave in Bethlehem:*[22]
>
> *Reading 1*: Genesis 1:28–3:20 – Creation and fall
> *Reading 2*: Isaiah 7:10–17 – "A virgin shall conceive"
> *Reading 3*: Exodus 14:24–15:21 – Israel crosses the Red Sea

Reading 4: Micah 5:2–7 – "But you, O Bethlehem are little to be among the clans of Judah, from you shall come forth the ruler in Israel"
Reading 5: Proverbs 1:2–9 – "Fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom"
Reading 6: Isaiah 9:5b–7 – "A child is born to us"
Reading 7: Isaiah 11:1–9 – "A shoot from the root of Jesse"
Reading 8: Isaiah 35:3–8 – "Behold your God will come with vengeance"
Reading 9: Isaiah 40:10–17 – "The Lord God comes with might"
Reading 10: Isaiah 42:1–8a – "Behold my servant whom I have chosen"
Reading 11: Daniel 3:1–35a – Three youths in the fiery furnace
Hymn: "Lord you have made the dew fall, a dew of mercy, and quenched the flame of burning fire, for it is you alone who are recognized as Savior."[23] *The reading continues with* Daniel 3:35b–51.
Hymn: "You have had pity on our fathers. You have visited us. You have saved us." *The reading concludes with* Daniel 3:52a–90.

And after they have said the hymn, this canon is performed:

Antiphon: "The Lord said to me: You are my Son; today I have begotten you." (Ps 2:7)
Reading: Titus 2:11–15 – "The grace of God has appeared bringing salvation to all people"
Alleluia: "The Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand" (Ps 109)
Gospel: Matthew 2:1–12 – Adoration of the Magi[24]

The series of eleven Old Testament readings at the Theophany Vigil expresses various themes. Three of the lections, specifically *Reading 1*: Genesis 1:28–3:20, *Reading 3*: Exodus 14:24–15:21, and *Reading 11*: Daniel 3:1–90, were also read during the Easter Vigil in the same Armenian Lectionary, tracing the creation and the fall in salvation history and foreshadowing the redemption that comes through Christ. The other readings are prophecies of Christ's birth, namely *Reading 2*: Isaiah 7:10–17, *Reading 4*: Micah 5:2–7, *Reading 6*: Isaiah 9:5b–7, *Reading 7*: Isaiah 11:1–9, *Reading 8*: Isaiah 35:3–8, *Reading 9*: Isaiah 40:10–17, and *Reading 10*: Isaiah 42:1–8a.

The order for the eucharistic liturgy bears quite a simple structure:

At dawn they gather at the Holy Martyrium[25] *in the City, and this canon is performed:*

Antiphon: "The Lord said to me: You are my Son; today I have begotten you." (Ps 2)
Reading: Titus 2:11–15 – "The grace of God has appeared bringing salvation to all people"
Alleluia: Psalm 109
Gospel: Matthew 1:18–25 – Christ's birth and Joseph's dream[26]

This feast was followed by an octave, as witnessed by Egeria.[27]

Around the same time in Rome and Constantinople, the single feast of the birth and baptism of Christ was being challenged by the introduction of distinct feasts of Christ's birth on December 25 and baptism on January 6. Gabriele Winkler sees this development as a reflection of the "evolution and change in the christological debates." According to Winkler, the earliest form of a single feast on January 6 in the East understood Jesus' baptism to be his birth and ignored his birth in the flesh in Bethlehem. Avoiding Christological ambiguity was of utmost importance in the early Church and so the two events were linked on January 6.[28] Nevertheless, the "canon" of Jerusalem's Armenian Lectionary outlined above reflects a greater emphasis on Christ's birth in Bethlehem than his baptism in the Jordan. Today the Armenian tradition still celebrates only one feast of the Incarnation of Christ on January 6, with the eucharistic liturgy (*Badarak*) focused on the birth in Bethlehem, while Jesus' baptism is commemorated in a concluding rite.[29]

Hagiopolite liturgy after Chalcedon: the Georgian Lectionary and hymnal (*Iadgari*)

Expressions of Christology within the liturgy, especially regarding the nature of the person of Christ and the role of his mother, Mary, became sensitive subjects after the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Upon returning from that council to Jerusalem, Patriarch Juvenal introduced a feast of the birth of Christ on December 25, thereby establishing the two distinct feasts of the birth and Theophany of Christ, as they were being celebrated in Constantinople, sometime between 452 and 456. This displaced the feast of St. James the Brother of the Lord and David the Prophet that had been celebrated in Jerusalem on December 25.[30] Juvenal's innovation, however, did not last. A rebellion ensued, in which Christmas on December 25 was suppressed and liturgical celebrations returned to their state before Chalcedon.[31] The warring parties are difficult to classify neatly into two groups of pro- and anti-Chalcedonians, or later on as "individualizing Origenists" versus "institutionalizing anti-Origenists." Instead, there appear to have been many views ranging from "Evagrianists proper," who held protological, Christological, and eschatological views contrary to orthodox teaching, to "intellectual liberals," as Phil Booth calls them, who were less interested in Evagrian or Origenist dogmatic teachings and more interested in those authors' ideas on the contemplative life.[32]

The fallout from Chalcedon created rival camps within Palestinian monasticism. Those monasteries that continued to support Chalcedonian orthodoxy and promoted an institutional role of the monk at the service of the Church seem to have been excluded from Jerusalem's stational liturgies. Despite often being geographically isolated, monasteries *were* included among the stations of liturgical processions and festal liturgies.[33] Although this rift was healed soon after the death of Euthymios in 473,[34] the Origenist controversy soon caused more tensions. Stéphane Verhelst's analysis of the topographic information in the period's liturgical sources has noted that there were no Euthymian

or Sabaite monasteries among the liturgical stations. He thus suggests those monasteries opposed to the Origenist movement were cut out of Jerusalem's stational liturgy.[35]

This convoluted and divisive situation appears to have existed for approximately a century, until the intervention of the Byzantine emperor. After learning that Jerusalem continued to celebrate Hypapante (the Feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple) on February 14, forty days after the Nativity of Christ celebrated on January 6, Emperor Justinian (527–565) issued a decree on March 25, 560, directed at the errors of the Church of Jerusalem.[36] Justinian's letter was a reaction to Miaphysitism, which viewed the separation of Nativity and Theophany as admitting a division in the person of Christ, and therefore of Nestorianism. That Justinian needed to address this question at all confirms that Christmas was not consistently celebrated on December 25 in the fifth and sixth centuries, despite Juvenal's introduction of the distinct feasts to Jerusalem after 452. Justinian ordered that Jerusalem adopt the practices of Constantinople by transferring Christmas, Theophany, and the Hypapante to their Constantinopolitan dates and adding the Conception (September 25) and Nativity (June 25) of John the Baptist, as well as the Annunciation of the Theotokos (March 25), to the Holy City's calendar.[37] While their original institution was not polemical, these feasts were often later used to defend dogmas established at Nicaea, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.[38]

The earliest liturgical witness of these developments is the "Georgian Lectionary," dated to between the sixth and eighth centuries.[39] Like the Armenian Lectionary, the Georgian Lectionary provided texts for, and regulated the order of, liturgical celebrations in the Holy City. Two things, however, had changed since the time of the Armenian Lectionary. First, the psalmody of the Armenian Lectionary was augmented by new hymnography, resulting in a new hymnal – the *Iadgari* or Tropologion – needed to accompany the lectionary.[40] Second, the conflicts in Jerusalem had left the need to identify oneself and one's worship as orthodox. Hence, the title of the Georgian Lectionary had been augmented to emphasize its orthodoxy: "This is a rite and order of orthodox (*mart'lmorcmowney*) practice, as they do in Jerusalem."[41] Following this title, the calendar immediately begins with the new feast of Christmas on December 25. Many of the scriptural readings and psalm verses from the Armenian Lectionary were adopted directly into the new December 25 commemoration. Certain manuscripts of the lectionary, as well as the Georgian hymnal *Iadgari*, specify that the celebration is of the "birth" (*šobay*) of Christ.[42]

On the eve of the feast, the Georgian Lectionary prescribes a service to be celebrated at the Sheepfold (*samcqsod*) with various themes emerging from the narrative of Luke 2, such as the angel appearing to the shepherds, sung in the Hypakoi, Tone 8: "Glory in the highest, and upon earth, peace . . ." (Luke 2:14). After this, everyone ascends to Bethlehem for a vesperal eucharist. At midnight, a Vigil with eleven Old Testament readings and a Gospel (Luke 2:1–7) are read. As in the Armenian Lectionary, the eleven readings in the Georgian Lectionary

are a mix of readings from the Easter Vigil, such as the creation account (Genesis 1:1–3:24) and prophecies of Christ's birth (i.e. Isaiah 7:10–17).[43] The order of the services in the Georgian Lectionary on December 24 and December 25 is as follows:

Month of December, 24. At the sixth hour they go out to the Sheepfold, do a litany and prayers and say the Hypakoi, Tone 8: "Glory in the highest, and upon earth, peace . . ."

Verse: "The earth has yielded her fruit . . ." (Ps 66:7–8)
Hypakoi 2, verse: "Now Isaiah first said: 'Behold, a virgin . . .'"

And they do a litany and prayers, saying a Psalm, Tone 6: "The Lord shepherds me, and I will lack nothing . . ." (Ps 22:1–2)

Alleluia, Tone 2: "You who shepherd Israel, attend . . . Joseph" (Ps 79:2)
Gospel: Luke 2:8–20 – "Glory to God in the highest"

After this they ascend to Bethlehem, they enter the cave and serve Vespers.

Troparion [oxitay], Tone 8: "The creator of all creation . . ."
Psalm, Tone 4: "The Lord said to me: You are my Son . . ." (Ps 2:7)
Verse: "Ask of me and I will give . . ." (Ps 2:8)
Reading: Jeremiah 23:2–6 – "I will raise up for David a righteous Branch"
Reading: Hebrews 1:1–12 – God brings the firstborn into the world
Alleluia, Tone 8: "The Lord said to my Lord: Sit . . ." (Ps 109)
Gospel: Matthew 1:18–25 – Birth of Jesus Christ and Joseph's dream
Hymn of Hand Washing, Tone 1: "The Lord is born in Bethlehem of Judea . . ."
Hymn of the Holy Gifts, Tone 6: "What can we offer you, O Christ . . ."

At midnight they begin verses [*dasadebeli*] *and readings.*

Verse 1, Tone 2: "At the birth of the Lord in Bethlehem . . ."

Psalm: "My heart has uttered . . ." (Ps 44:1)
Reading 1: Genesis 1:1–3:24 – Creation and fall

Verse 2, Tone 4: "Righteous ones, rejoice to heaven . . ."

Psalm: "All peoples raise . . ." (Ps 46:1)
Reading 2: Isaiah 7:10–17 – "A virgin shall conceive"

Verse 3, Tone 5: "The grace of God has appeared bringing salvation . . ." (cf. Titus 2:11)

Psalm: "Great is the Lord . . ." (Ps 47:2)
Reading 3: Exodus 14:24–15:21 – Israel crosses the Red Sea

Verse 4, Tone 5: "Fulfilled is the word of the Prophets . . ."

Psalm: "O God, have mercy on us . . ." (Ps 66:2)
Reading 4: Micah 5:2–7 – "But you, O Bethlehem are little to be among the clans of Judah, from you shall come forth the ruler in Israel"

Verse 5, Tone 5: "Let us look into the cave, into the manger . . ."

Psalm: "O God, your judgment to the king . . ." (Ps 71: 2)
Reading 5: Proverbs 1:1–9 – "Fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom"

Verse 6, Tone 8: "Today the heavens exult and rejoice . . ."

Psalm: "It has pleased you, O Lord, your land . . ." (Ps 84:2)
Reading 6: Isaiah 9:5c–7 – "A child is born to us"

Verse 7, Tone 8: "From where have you come, Magi?"

Psalm: "Her foundations in the mountains . . ." (Ps 86:2)
Reading 7: Isaiah 11:1–9 – "A shoot from the root of Jesse"

Verse 8, Tone 3: "One born of a virgin . . ."

Psalm: "Your mercy, O Lord . . ." (Ps 88:2)
Reading 8: Isaiah 35:3–10 – "Behold your God will come with vengeance"

Verse 9, Tone 8: "On Christ shine the stars . . ."

Psalm: "The Lord said to my Lord . . ." (Ps 109:1)
Reading 9: Isaiah 40:9–17 – "The Lord comes with might"

Verse 10, Tone 2: "King of the Jews and Savior . . ."

Psalm: "Give thanks to the Lord for He is good . . ." (Ps 117:1)
Reading 10: Isaiah 42:1–8 – "Behold my servant whom I have chosen"

Verse 11, Tone 6: "The city which you loved . . ."

Psalm: "Remember, O Lord, David . . ." (Ps 131:1)
Reading 11: Daniel 3:1–97 – Three youths in the fiery furnace
After this they say a Psalm: "Arise, Lord from your rest . . ." (Ps 131:8)

Verse: "Remember, O Lord, David . . ." (Ps 131:1)

Gospel: Luke 2:1–7 – Mary and Joseph travel to Bethlehem, Jesus in born and laid in a manger

After the Gospel they do a litany and prayers, and perform the morning office.[44]

The eucharistic liturgy for Christmas day follows, observing the standard structure of the *Liturgy of St. James* known from Georgian manuscripts.[45] This eucharistic

liturgy began with the *oxitay*, a variable hymn equivalent to the Greek Eisodikon or hymn of entry, sung during the procession of the clergy into the church. The text for Christmas is as follows:

> *Hymn of Entry* [*oxitay*]*, Tone 1*: The creator of all creation, who is seated with the Father, did you, O Theotokos Mary, bear in the flesh. The one whom the angels announced to the shepherds as God and made known to the Magi through the star who worshipped him, O Theotokos, we the unworthy also worship him – Christ – born of you, and glorify you, O blessed among mothers.[46]

Next came the responsorial psalmody and scriptural readings:

> *The same Psalm, Tone 2*: "The Lord said to me: You are my Son . . ." (Ps 2:7)
> *Verse*: "Ask of me . . ." (Ps 2:8)
> *Reading 1*: Proverbs 8:22–31 – "Ages ago I was set up, before the beginning of the earth"
> *Reading 2*: Daniel 2:34–35 – The stone uncut by human hands
> *Reading 3*: Hebrews 1:1–12 – "You are my Son; today I have begotten you"
> *Alleluia, Tone 5*: "The Lord said to my Lord . . ." (Ps 109:1)
> *Gospel*: Matthew 2:1–23 – Adoration of the Magi, flight to Egypt, and return to Nazareth

Following the Gospel came the Hymn of Hand Washing (*xeltabanisay*), based on the themes of the preceding Gospel reading. As the hymn's name suggests, it was sung at the beginning of the transfer of the Gifts while the clergy washed their hands:

> *Hymn of Hand Washing* [*xeltabanisay*]: The Lord is born in Bethlehem of Judea. From the East came Magi to worship the incarnation of God. They gladly opened their treasures, earnestly bringing gifts there: purified gold for the king of eternity, incense for the God of all, as well as for the one who was three days dead, myrrh for the immortal one. Come all you people and let us worship, for this one is the Savior of us all.[47]

The Hymn of Hand Washing's themes match the content of the preceding Gospel readings from Matthew 1:18–25 and Matthew 2:1–23 perfectly in that they mention Magi bearing gifts but do not make reference to angels and shepherds from the Lucan narrative, which was read at the place of the shepherds on Christmas Eve.

The last hymn provided for the Christmas liturgy is the Hymn of the Holy Gifts, or *sicmidisay*, sung during the transfer of the Gifts:

> Hymn of the Holy Gifts (*sicmidisay*): What can we offer you, O Christ, since you appeared through the flesh as a man among us? Each creature that you made brings you thanksgiving of praise: angels – praise, heaven – the star,

> the Magi – gifts, shepherds – marvel, and we – the mother and virgin. O you, God from eternity, have mercy on us![48]

This last hymn has been preserved in Greek and is sung as a sticheron at Vespers on Christmas Eve.[49]

In general, the themes of these hymns are Christologically sound, emphasizing Christ, as Word of God seated with the Father, becoming man in the flesh from Mary as the Theotokos. The hymns also show the important connection between the Jerusalem Lectionary's scriptural readings and the hymnography sung during the ritual actions of the liturgy. The hymns not only fill in the silence during the ritual actions – called "soft points" by Robert Taft[50] – with song, but they are themselves important structural units of the liturgical celebration as a whole.

The January 6 feast in the Georgian Lectionary, here called "Theophany" or "Manifestation" (*gancxadebay*), retained those readings from the Armenian Lectionary order that had to do generally with the manifestation of Christ and not specifically with his birth, for example the Epistle to Titus 2:11–15.[51] Otherwise, the Georgian Lectionary developed new themes for the January 6 feast that were related to washing and purification, introducing new readings, such as Isaiah 12:1–6, which calls on the faithful to "wash yourselves and make yourselves clean," and 2 Kings 5:9–15, where Elisha washes in the Jordan River seven times and his flesh is restored like that of a little child.

The liturgical structures and texts of the Georgian Lectionary and the *Iadgari* are the closest approximation to liturgical practice in Jerusalem shortly before and immediately after the Arab conquest of the Holy City, in the first centuries when Jerusalem was no longer under Byzantine political control. Later Georgian sources, such as the tenth-century calendar in codex Sinai Geo. O. 34 and the eleventh-century "Dumbarton Oaks Menaion," reveal significant changes to the "rite and order of orthodox practice" established by the Georgian Lectionary and show the influx of foreign liturgical practices through influence from Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire.[52]

Hagiopolite liturgy after Chalcedon: Greek lectionaries

Notwithstanding the value of Armenian and Georgian sources for studying Hagiopolite liturgy today, Greek was the primary liturgical language in Jerusalem in late antiquity. This status as official liturgical language is clear already from fourth-century pilgrim accounts, such as Egeria's observation that the bishop prayed and spoke in Greek but prayers and homilies were translated into other languages such as Syriac and Latin.[53] The prominence of Greek continues in twelfth-century liturgical manuscripts, such as the "Typikon of the Anastasis," a hymnal for Holy Week and Easter preserved in codex Jerusalem Patriarchate Hagios Stavros Gr. 43 (1122), where homilies were read first in Greek and then in Arabic, by that time the region's vernacular.[54] Nevertheless, very few extant Greek manuscripts reflect Jerusalem's liturgical usage to the extent and detail of Georgian liturgical manuscripts. This is slowly changing since the discovery of

the "new finds" manuscripts on Mount Sinai in 1975, which have been expanding and revising what is known of liturgy in the eastern Mediterranean world. Among the most notable discoveries for Jerusalem liturgy are manuscripts Sinai Gr. NE ΜΓ 5 and Sinai Gr. NE ΜΓ 56 (8–9th c.), comprising the oldest known Greek Tropologion, or hymnal, from Jerusalem. The title of the manuscript connects its practice with the Holy Sepulcher: "With God, the Tropologion of all the holy feasts of the whole year according to the canon of the [church] of the Resurrection of Christ our God [in Jerusalem]."[55]

Another Hagiopolite manuscript among the Sinai "new finds" is the lectionary Sinai Gr. NE ΜΓ 8 (10th c.), the only known Greek source to prescribe readings from the Old Testament at the normal Sunday eucharistic liturgy.[56] This manuscript, along with another Greek manuscript from Jerusalem, St. Petersburg RNB Gr. 44 (9th c.), is similar in structure to the Armenian and Georgian lectionary book types; that is, it provides a fuller ordo including the texts of readings and hymns for both clergy and chanters.[57] On one of the days following Christmas, we find the rubric for a hymn during the eucharistic liturgy: "According to 'Holy God': 'Christ is born on earth . . .'" (see Fig. 9.1).[58] This brief reference seems inconsequential until we see the full text, found in another Sinaitic manuscript, Sinai Gr. 150 (11th c.): "Instead of the Trisagion, Tone 8: Christ is born on earth in a manger wearing swaddling bands, breaking the bonds of our transgressions."[59] The word σπάργανα (sg. τὸ σπάργανον) used here can mean both swaddling bands and grave clothes[60] – a parallel between the birth and death of Christ already alluded to in the Christmas Hymn of Hand Washing (*ɣeltabanisay*) from the Georgian Lectionary and *Iadgari*. When examined more closely, it becomes clear that the text of the Greek hymn "Christ is born on earth . . ." follows the precise meter of the Paschal Troparion "Christ is risen from the dead . . ." (see Table 9.1).[61]

A further parallel between the two hymns is their use "instead of the Trisagion" on Christmas here, and on Easter in the "Typikon of the Anastasis."[62] Replacements for, or modifications to, the Trisagion have a history in Palestine, especially in connection with the "Theopaschite" controversy. St. Sabas (ca. 439–532) rejected the addition of the phrase "who was crucified for us" to the Trisagion in 501 when some Armenian monks tried to introduce it at his Lavra.[63] They were eventually forced to attend the liturgy together with the Greek monks, according to the "Testament of St. Sabas" transmitted in the earliest Sabaite Typikon, twelfth-century Sinai Gr. 1096.[64]

The general agreement is that the Trisagion came to Jerusalem from Constantinople, since it is first mentioned in Constantinople around 438/439. Despite its proposed Constantinopolitan origin, the Trisagion hymn is found among the initial rites of almost every Eastern Christian eucharistic liturgy.[65] Its function, however, was different depending on the liturgical tradition. In Constantinople, the Trisagion was an entrance chant at the beginning of the liturgy.[66] In other traditions, however, such as the East-Syrian and Armenian traditions, this hymn was associated with a solemnized rite preceding the Gospel and not the initial entrance.[67] The Christological understanding of the Trisagion among non-Chalcedonians further strengthened its connection to the reading of the Gospel, including variable

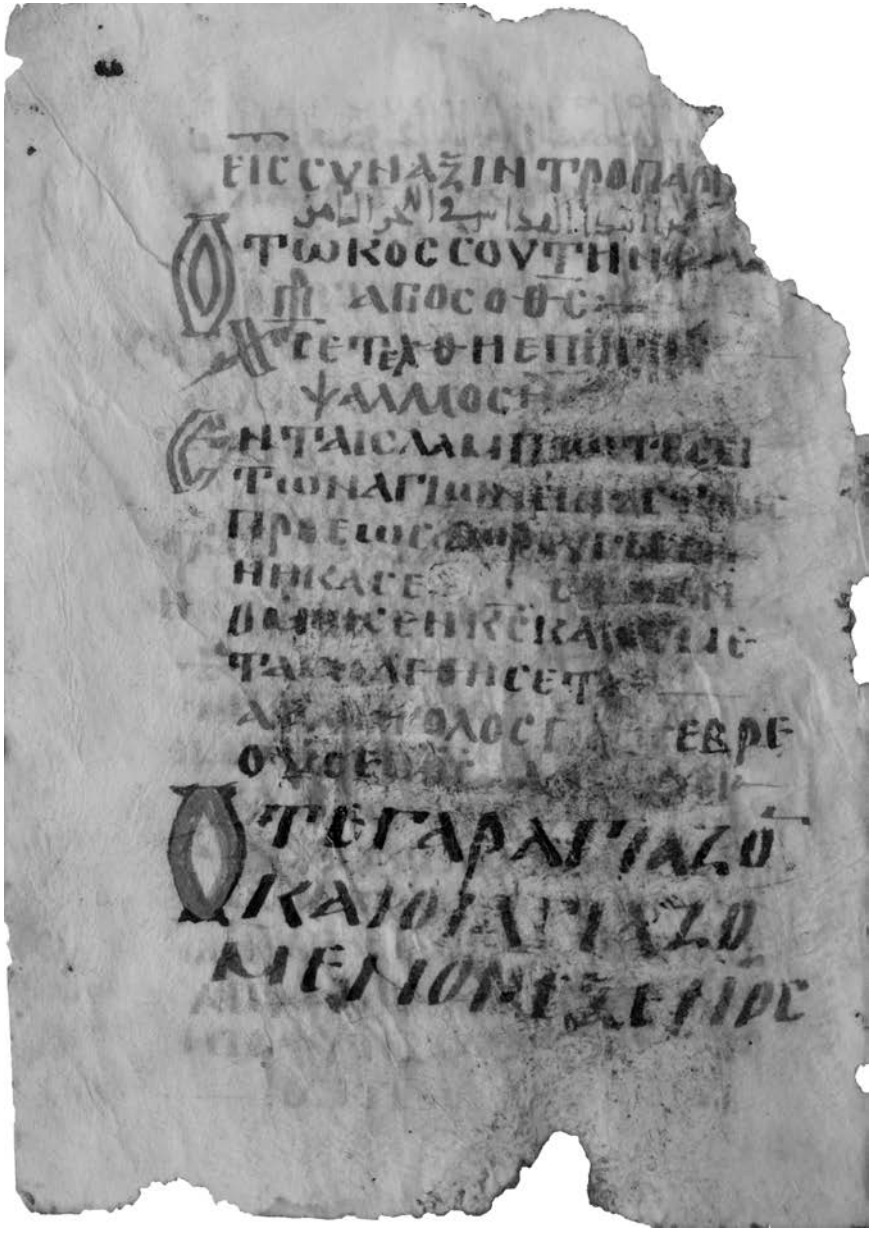

Figure 9.1 Christmas hymn in manuscript Sinai Gr. NE ΜΓ 8 (10th c.), f. 7v. (Photo by permission of Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt.)

Table 9.1 Comparison of the Christmas hymn and Easter Troparion

Christmas Hymn, full text from *Sinai Gr. 150* (11th c.), Plagal Tone 4 (Tone 8):	Easter Troparion, Plagal Tone 1 (Tone 5):
Χριστὸς ἐτέχθη ἐπὶ γῆς ἐν φάτνῃ, σπάργανα φορέσας, τὰ δεσμὰ διαῤῥύξας τῶν ἀνομιῶν ἡμῶν.	Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι ζωὴν χαρισάμενος.[1]
Christ is born on earth in a manger wearing swaddling bands, breaking the bonds of our transgressions.	Christ is risen from the dead, trampling death by death, and to those in the tombs bestowing life.

[1] Follieri, *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae Graecae*, 5.1:104.

Trisagion chants connected to the various feasts being celebrated.[68] Armenian and Coptic Trisagion variants are still in use today and depend on the variable feast being celebrated.[69] The function of the Trisagion in Jerusalem's liturgy, as evidenced by the Christmas hymn and the Easter Troparion mentioned above, may in fact have been closer to that of the Armenian and East Syrian traditions, especially considering Jerusalem's strong connection between scriptural readings as inspiration for hymnographic themes. Whether these really are variable Trisagia with thematic connections to the subsequent Gospel reading or simply additional festal propers added to the ordinary Trisagion is still unclear. Nevertheless, it seems that the diverse practices of Jerusalem that Emperor Justinian attempted to bring into line with Constantinopolitan usage managed to live on in some form, even within the official Greek liturgy of the Holy City.

Hagiopolite liturgy after Chalcedon: Melkite liturgy

In the aftermath of the Council of Chalcedon, the epithet "Melkite" was coined to refer to Chalcedonian Christians who followed the teaching of the Byzantine (*rūm*) emperor (*mălkāyā* in Syriac or *malakī* in Arabic). The difference between Greek-speaking *rūm* and Arabic- and/or Syriac-speaking *mal(a)kiyyūn* or *suryānē* was, apparently, clear to Arab authors who were able to distinguish between the Rūm and other Christians, as evidenced by the titles of the Byzantine Emperor.[70] Defining this ecclesial group and identifying the liturgical practices associated with this label is, however, not an easy task.[71] According to Anton Baumstark and those following him, the Melkites "shared the Byzantine liturgical *corpus*,"[72] although Baumstark likely meant that the Melkites shared the common liturgical tradition of Jerusalem, whose official language was Greek. Since the local Syriac and/or Arabic population held second place within Jerusalem's linguistic and ecclesial hierarchy, Syrians and Arabs generally took part in Greek services, having books in their native language to follow along with readings.[73]

Many Greek manuscripts preserved today reveal a close connection to Arabic, either through Arabic marginal notes or through the bilingual Greek-Arabic texts they contain. Editions of Melkite liturgical books are, however, quite few,

despite a great abundance of Melkite manuscripts preserved in Arabic and Syriac.[74] Joseph-Marie Sauget's meticulous study of Melkite Arabic Synaxaria from the thirteenth century has shown their earliest manuscripts depend closely on the Constantinopolitan Synaxarion family D*, identified by Hippolyte Delehaye to reveal topographic notices from Constantinople, but follow a monastic liturgical rule (*ordo*), rather than the rite of Hagia Sophia.[75] Despite identifying "Melkite," "Sinaitic," and even what he calls "Maronite" propers among the diverse strata of the manuscripts, Sauget himself admits that until more work is done on identifying and editing Melkite liturgical texts it is impossible to make any further conclusions.[76] Those earlier Melkite manuscripts that have been studied often originated in Antioch and then migrated to Palestine, where they were used in liturgical services, as was the case with the Gospel book Vatican Syr. 19, copied in 1030 near Antioch and brought to Samaria.[77] This Gospel book is virtually identical to a Constantinopolitan Gospel lectionary, which shows the strong liturgical influence of Constantinople on Antioch after its Byzantine reconquest in the tenth century. The library of the monastery on Mount Sinai has, however, preserved several Melkite manuscripts with stronger ties to Jerusalem. Of greatest interest here is a ninth-century Syro-Melkite calendar from the "new finds," Sinai Syr. M52N (9th–10th c.),[78] and the bilingual Gospel book, Sinai Ar. 116 (995/996).[79]

Since these Melkite manuscripts are lectionaries or calendars and often provide simple rubrics indicating the name of the commemoration and the scriptural reading but provide no hymnography,[80] let us proceed directly to a comparison of their commemorations and their scriptural readings, where possible, with the previously described Georgian and Greek liturgical manuscripts.

Comparison of Christmas and Theophany in Hagiopolite liturgical sources

Having presented the multilingual extant sources of Jerusalem's liturgy from the first millennium after Christ, we now examine the dates of commemorations, the thematic content of their hymnography, and the scriptural readings they prescribe, in order to understand the variety of liturgical practice within the Chalcedonian Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

A chronological comparison of the most significant liturgical manuscripts enumerated above (see Table 9.2) reveals several important insights:

1 In Jerusalem, December 25 was originally the commemoration of the Prophet David and James the Brother of the Lord. Anton Baumstark speculated that the date of this commemoration might have had a long prehistory connected to Jewish traditions.[81] With the imposition of Christmas by Patriarch Juvenal and later Emperor Justinian, the commemoration of David and James found on December 25 in the Armenian Lectionary was displaced to December 26 in the Georgian Lectionary, an adaptation followed in later Greek, Syriac, and Georgian liturgical witnesses until the end of the tenth century. Al-Biruni's Melkite calendar from the eleventh century was the last to mention David

Table 9.2 Comparison of commemorations in Hagiopolite liturgical calendars (December 24 to January 14)

	5th c.	*6th–8th c.*	*8th/9th c.*	*9th/10th c.*	*10th c.*			*11th c.*		*12th c.*	*13th c.*
	Armenian Lectionary	Georgian Lectionary	*Sinai Gr. NE MΓ 5 + Sinai Gr. NE MΓ 56* (Tropologion of the Anastasis)	*Sinai Syr. M52N* (Syriac Melkite Calendar)	*Sinai Gr. NE MΓ 8* (Hagiopolite Lectionary)	*Sinai Geo. O. 34* (Iovane Zosime's Calendar)	***Synaxarion of Constantinople***	Melkite Calendar of Al-Biruni	Dumbarton Oaks Georgian Menaion	*Sinai Gr. 1096* (Sabaite Typikon)	Melkite Synaxaria (ed. Sauget) [additions from *Sinai Ar. 416*]
Dec 24	o	Nativity Eve	Nativity Eve	Fast	×	(Synaxis on Mt. Olives) Eugenia, Thekla, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob	Nativity Eve	o	o	Eugenia	Eugenia; Anthony Qoraïšite
Dec 25	**James and David**	**Nativity of Christ**	**Nativity of Christ**	**Nativity of Christ**	×	**Nativity of Christ**	**Nativity of Christ**	**Nativity of Christ**	**Nativity of Christ**	**Nativity of Christ**	**Nativity of Christ**
Dec 26	o	**David and James**	×	**David and James**	**David and James**	**Nativity of Christ; David and James**	**Synaxis of Theotokos**	**David and James**	**Nativity of Christ**	**Synaxis of Theotokos**	**Theotokos**; Euthymios of Sardis; Constantine the Jew
Dec 27	**Stephen**	**Stephen**	×	**Stephen**	**Stephen**	**Stephen**	**Stephen**	**Stephen**	**Stephen**	**Stephen**; Theodore Graptos	**Stephen**; Theodore Graptos
Dec 28	**Peter and Paul**	**Peter and Paul**	×	Holy Innocents; Peter and Paul	Holy Innocents	**Peter and Paul**	Indes and Domna; Martyrs of Nicomedia; Theodore Graptos	Holy Innocents	o	Martyrs of Nicomedia	Indes and Domna [Anthony Qoraïšite]
Dec 29	James and John	James and John	×	James and John; Eugenia	×	James and John; Eugenia; Holy Innocents	Holy Innocents	Anthony Qoraïšite	Holy Innocents	Holy Innocents	Holy Innocents; Faithful departed

(*Continued*)

Table 9.2 (Continued)

	5th c.	*6th–8th c.*	*8th/9th c.*	*9th/10th c.*	*10th c.*			*11th c.*		*12th c.*	*13th c.*
	Armenian Lectionary	Georgian Lectionary	*Sinai Gr. NE MΓ 5 + Sinai Gr. NE MΓ 56* (Tropologion of the Anastasis)	*Sinai Syr. M52N* (Syriac Melkite Calendar)	*Sinai Gr. NE MΓ 8* (Hagiopolite Lectionary)	*Sinai Geo. O. 34* (Iovane Zosime's Calendar)	***Synaxarion of Constantinople***	Melkite Calendar of Al-Biruni	Dumbarton Oaks Georgian Menaion	*Sinai Gr. 1096* (Sabaite Typikon)	Melkite Synaxaria (ed. Sauget) [additions from *Sinai Ar. 416]*
Dec 30	o	(Synaxis on Mt. Olives)	×	Anthony Qoraïšite; Cornelius	×	(Synaxis on Mt. Olives) Eugenia, Cornelius, Abba Mark, Anysia	Anysia; Dedication of the 40 Martyrs	o	o	Anysios and Zotikos	Anysia; Theodora; George of Nicomedia; Leontios; Dedication of the 40 Martyrs
Dec 31	o	Zotikos	×	James and John	×	Boas; Zotikos	Domna; Zotikos	o	Boas	Melania of Rome	Melania; Zotikos
Jan 1	o	Beginning of the year; Circumcision; Basil	Basil	Basil; Circumcision	×	Circumcision; Basil; Octave of Nativity	Circumcision; Basil	Basil; Kalends	Circumcision; Basil	Circumcision; Basil	Circumcision; Basil
Jan 2	o	Sylvester; Monk Matthew	×	Sylvester	×	Sylvester; Monk Matthew	Sylvester; Martyr Basil	Sylvester	Sylvester	Prefeast of Lights; Sylvester	Sylvester; Martyr Basil
Jan 3	o	Abba Melito of St. Sabas	×	Barlaam and Gurias	×	Abba Melito of St. Sabas; Prophet Malachi	Gordios, Theogenes, Malachi	o	Patriarchs; Gordios, Theogenes, Malachi	Prefeast; Malachi	Prophet Malachi; Gordios; Theogenes of Parion
Jan 4	o	Abba John the Scholar	×	Prophet Jonah	×	Abba John the Scholar; Martyr Gordios	Theopemptos, Thomas, Zosimos, Theoktistos, Synkletike	o	Theopemptos, Thomas, Zosimos, Theoktistos, Synkletike	Gordios; Theoktistos	Theopemptos and Theonas; Zosimos and Athanasios; Synkletike; xEuthymios the Young; Theoktistos the Confessor; Timothy of Kāḫaštā

Jan 5	o	Epiphany Eve	Theophany Eve	Fast of Theophany	×	Sanctification of Waters	Appolinarios; Gregory of Acrite; Prefeast of Lights	Fast	Abbot Paul	Theopemptos and Theona; Paul of Thebes	Appolinarios; Gregory of Acrite
Jan 6	**Epiphany**	**Epiphany**	**Theophany**	**Sanctification of Waters**	×	**Theophany**	**Theophany**	**Theophany**	**Baptism of Christ**	**Theophany**	**Theophany**
Jan 7	**Second day (at St. Stephen)**	**Second day (at Anastasis)**	**Second day**	×	×	**Abo and John the Baptist**	**Synaxis of John the Baptist**	**o**	**Baptism and St. Abo**	**Synaxis of Forerunner**	**Synaxis of John the Baptist**
Jan 8	Third day (at Martyrium)	Third day (at Sion)	Third day	×	×	John the Hesychast; Makarios; Poimen; Arsenios	Matryrs Theophilos and Helladios; Zotikos	o	Baptism; John Hesychast	Domnica; George Chozebite; John Hesychast	Domnica; John the Hesychast; Julian and Basilissa; Karterios
Jan 9	Fourth day (at Sion)	Fourth day (at St. Mary)	Fourth day	×	×	Gregory of Nyssa; Polyeuktos	Polyeuktos	o	Baptism; Polyeuktos	Martyr Polyeuktos	Polyeuktos; Shemaiah; Achias; Eustratios the Thaumaturge
Jan 10	Fifth day (on Mt. Olives)	Fifth day (at St. John)	Fifth day	×	×	Gregory of Nyssa	Gregory of Nyssa	o	Baptism; Gregory of Nyssa	Gregory of Nyssa	Gregory of Nyssa; Marcian; Maximos and Demetrios
Jan 11	Sixth day (at Lazarium); Peter Absalom	Sixth day (at St. Stephen)	Sixth day: Theodosios Archimandrite	Tertios	×	Theodosios	Peter Absalom; Theodosios Cenobiarch	Theodosios	Theodosios	Theodosios	Theodosios Cenobiarch
Jan 12	Seventh day (at Golgotha)	Seventh day (at Golgotha)	Seventh day: Philotheos	Plato	×	Philotheos; Stephen	Tatiana; Martyr Meortos	o	Baptism; Philotheos	Tatiana	Tatiana
Jan 13	End of octave (at Anastasis)	End of octave (at Anastasis)	End of octave: Fathers of Sinai and Raithou	End of octave of Epiphany; Massacre of Fathers of Raithou	×	Octave of Theophany; Fathers of Sinai and Raithou	Hermylaios and Stratonikos	End of Theophany; Fathers of Sinai	Octave of Epiphany	Ermylos and Stratonikos	Hermylaios and Stratonikos; James of Nisibis
Jan 14	o	St. Stephen	o	Astrikios and Seleukos	×	Stephen; Nino	Fathers of Sinai	o	Fathers of Sinai and Raithou	Apodosis; Fathers of Sinai and Raithou	Martyrs of Sinai

× = folios missing
o = absent

and James on December 26, after which the Synaxis of the Theotokos, a "concomitant feast" of Antiochene origin and Constantinopolitan heredity, displaced David and James and was celebrated in Jerusalem on this date.[82]

2 A string of martyr feasts follows the celebration of Christmas on December 25. The commemoration of the Protomartyr Stephen is common to all sources here on December 27, but the subsequent martyrs of the West, Peter and Paul, and of the East, James the Lesser and John the Theologian, are displaced to other dates in the calendars. Sever Voicu has studied this sequence of feasts and has shown that the presence of John the Theologian here reflects an alternate tradition passed on by Papias of Hierapolis (ca. 2nd c.), whereby he was martyred in Jerusalem rather than dying late in life.[83]

3 Beyond the ninth century, sources gradually cease prescribing the location, or "station," of the liturgical celebration. Thus, the connection between place of celebration and the event being celebrated loses importance and slowly disappears.

4 Melkite "new martyrs" from after the Arab conquest, such as Anthony Ruwah or Qoraišite (d. 799/805), who was martyred on Christmas day in Damascus, make their way into the calendar. Anthony is completely unknown in Greek sources but is celebrated on various dates in Arabic (December 24/29), Georgian (January 18/19), and Syriac calendars (December 30).[84]

Of all the different liturgical manuscripts, it is the Georgian calendars that are the most comprehensive. Their list of commemorations includes local Palestinian Melkite new martyrs and the common Greek commemorations, as well as Georgian saints such as St. Abo (January 6/7; d. 786) and St. Nino (January 14). Syriac and Arabic calendars include the common commemorations from Greek sources as well as new martyrs but do not include Georgian saints. Greek manuscripts appear the most susceptible to change and discard Hagiopolite commemorations with different, more prominent dates and traditions of celebration in Constantinople. For example, Greek calendars abandon the commemorations of Peter and Paul as well as James and John at the end of December. Other days commemorating those saints, June 29 for Peter and Paul, for example, became more prominent through the cult of those saints in other important liturgical centers, such as Rome and Constantinople. Syriac and Georgian calendars are slower to remove these local commemorations from their original position in Jerusalem's authentic calendar.

Even if the direction of most of these changes appears to merge with those of the Synaxarion of Constantinople, all the changes to the commemorations appear gradual, as if those compiling the calendars and those celebrating these feasts could pick and choose which tradition they preferred. This, in fact, seems to have been what was going on among scribes in Palestine and Sinai. The Georgian scribe Iovane Zosime, the copyist of Sinai Geo. O. 34, himself identified four sources for his tenth-century calendar that he copied on Mount Sinai: "I have described these synaxes from four sources: chiefly the Canon (*kanoni*), and also of the Greeks, and of Jerusalem, and of St. Sabas."[85] Gérard Garitte has speculated as to what

these sources may have been: the Canon (*kanonisayta*) refers to the Jerusalem Lectionary; a Greek model (*saberẓnetisayta*) was perhaps a Synaxarion of Palestinian origin; and the "Jerusalem model" (*ierusalēmisayta*) was something other than the Jerusalem Lectionary, perhaps something like the *Iadgari* hymnals or "Menaia" found in Sinai Geo. O. 1, Sinai Geo. O. 59, Sinai Geo. O. 64, and Sinai Geo. O. 65, each of the tenth century.[86] Garitte was not able to identify the contemporaneous Sabaitic model (*sabacmidisayta*).[87] Heinrich Husmann has also noted Syriac Melkite liturgical manuscripts referring to themselves as being either "according to Greek order" (*'ik ṭks' ioni'*) or "according to the Syrian order" (*'ik ṭks' sori'i'*), or sometimes a mix of the two.[88]

Hymnography is perhaps the aspect of liturgy most difficult to understand. The complexity of interpreting hymnography is compounded by the uncertain quantity of extant hymns.[89] Nevertheless, relationships between hymn themes and the development of Christmas have been hypothesized. David Bertaina's analysis of Ephrem the Syrian's Christmas hymns reveals the use of Gospel narratives and biblical typology to connect the birth and death of Christ. Although this is common to the patristic tradition, the abundance of such allusions and the complete absence of references to pagan practices has led Bertaina to theorize that the birth of Christ was celebrated in relation to his death and resurrection, whereby the Syrian tradition was more closely connected to the "Calculation hypothesis" or *Berechnungshypothese*, and not the "History of Religions hypothesis" or *religionsgeschichtliche Hypothese*.[90] Similar theories could certainly be proposed for Jerusalem, based on the hymnography from the Georgian Lectionary and the Christmas hymn with identical meter to the Easter Troparion (see Table 9.1 and Figure 9.1). Connections between Christ's death and the gifts of the Magi are made explicit in the Hymn of Hand Washing (*ẋeltabanisay*) from the *Iadgari*. The structure of the Easter Troparion as a model for the Christmas hymn, as well as the use of the word σπάργανα – both "grave clothes" and "swaddling bands" – strengthens the associations between Christ's birth at Christmas and his death and resurrection at Easter. The employment of scriptural readings from the Easter Vigil at Christmas reinforces this relationship. However, these examples cannot substantiate the *Berechnungshypothese* since such connections between Christ's birth and death are found throughout patristic writing and hymnography.[91] Using hymnography as a method to establish theories surrounding the origins of Christmas is doubtful, at least here, even if it is tempting.

Regarding the Gospel readings for Christmas and Theophany (see Table 9.3), the limited pericopes recounting the birth or baptism of Christ lead to surprising uniformity for the Synaxis, or eucharistic liturgy, on December 25 and January 6. More variability exists for the associated Vigils and Morning Prayer, or *Orthros*, on those feasts. The greatest diversity is found among the lesser commemorations, which, as was seen in the previous table (see Table 9.2), were changing. For example, the Jerusalemite feast of Peter and Paul on December 28 was gradually replaced by the commemoration of the Massacre of the Holy Innocents. In some cases, such as on December 26 in Sinai Gr. NE ΜΓ 8 where David and James were still commemorated, the Gospel readings had already switched from the

Table 9.3 Comparison of scriptural readings in the Christmas and Theophany cycle

	Georgian Lectionary	*Jerusalem Gospel book* Sinai Gr. 210	*Bilingual Jerusalem Gospel book* Sinai Ar. 116	*Jerusalem Lectionary* Sinai Gr. NE ΜΓ 8	*Synaxarion of Constantinople*	*Syriac Gospel book* Vatican Syr. 19
December 24						
Vigil	Mt 1:18–25	Mt 1:18–25	Mt 1:18–25	×	Lk 2:1–20	Lk 2:1
December 25						
Matins	Lk 2:1–7	Lk 2:1b–14	o	×	o	Mt 1:18
Synaxis	Mt 2:1–23	Mt 2:1–12	Mt 2:1–12	×	Mt 2:1–12	Mt 2:1
December 26						
Synaxis	Mt 22:41–46 (David and James)	o	Mt 22:41–46 (David and James)	Mt 2:13–? (David and James)	Mt 2:13–23 (Theotokos)	Mt 2:19 (Theotokos)
December 27						
Synaxis	Jn 12:24–41 (Stephen)	Jn 12:24–26 (Stephen)	Jn 12:24–26 (Stephen)	Jn 12:24–26 (Stephen)	Mt 21:33–42 (Stephen)	Mt 21:33 (Stephen)
December 28						
Synaxis	Jn 21:15–19 (Peter and Paul)	o	Mt 2:13–23 (Holy Innocents)	Mt 2:13b–? (Holy Innocents)	Jn 10:9–16 (Theodore)	Mk 1:21 (James)
January 5						
Vespers	Lk 3:1–18 Mk 1:1–11	Mt 3:13–17	Mk 1:1–11	×	Lk 3:1–18	Lk 3:1
January 6						
Matins	o	Lk 3:1–18	o	×	o	Mk 1:9
Synaxis	Mt 3:1–17	Mt 3:13–17	Mt 3:1–17	×	Mt 3:13–17	Mt 3:13
Water Blessing	Mk 1:9–11	Mk 1:1–11	o	×	o	= Vespers (Lk 3:1)
January 7						
Synaxis	Jn 3:1–12 (Second day)	o	Jn 1:29–34 (John the Baptist)	×	Jn 1:29–34 (John the Baptist)	Jn 1:29–34 (John the Baptist)

× = folios missing
o = absent

Jerusalem pericope order, which read Matthew 22 about martyrdom on the feast of David and James, to that of Constantinople, which read the account of the Nativity in Matthew 2.

From variety to uniformity: Byzantine Orthodoxy

The change observed in all these Hagiopolite manuscripts can be explained by a phenomenon known as "liturgical Byzantinization." From the period after the seventh-century Arab conquest, the Church of Jerusalem was weakened through the destruction of holy sites, migrations, and periodic persecutions. Within this context, the liturgical tradition of Jerusalem slowly began to decline, transitioning to a mixed rite before it was ultimately replaced by the new rite of Constantinople, itself reformed after the period of Iconoclasm in the eighth and ninth centuries.[92]

The order for Christmas in the earliest Sabaite Typikon, Sinai Gr. 1096 (12th c.), marks the beginning of the end of this process in Jerusalem and is the first extant witness in Palestine of a "purely" Constantinopolitan rite for Christmas. The manuscript makes no mention of the local Jerusalemite *Liturgy of St. James*, which had begun to disappear by that time and was replaced by the Constantinopolitan liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom. Likewise, the calendar and lectionary are virtually identical to those of the Great Church of Constantinople. With the calendar and lectionary in decline and the eucharistic *Liturgy of St. James* no longer celebrated, the associated hymnography also disappeared. The Christmas Troparion of the Great Church of Constantinople, equivalent in liturgical function to the Hagiopolite Eisodikon and *oxitay*, was ultimately adopted without any trace of the former hymnography of the Georgian Lectionary. The Typikon of the Great Church of Constantinople prescribes the following hymn at the Christmas Divine Liturgy:

> . . . and at the entrance of the liturgy two troparia are sung. The first, tone 4:
>
> Your Nativity, Christ our God, has made the light of knowledge dawn on the world, for by it those who adored the stars were taught by a star to worship you, the sun of justice, and to know you the dayspring from on high. Lord, glory to you![93]

Thematically, it does not appear any more Chalcedonian or orthodox in expression and makes no mention of the Theotokos. Rather, the hymn speaks of the replacement of the religion of the Magi with the worship of Christ, the "sun of justice." Although a variety of liturgical practices existed and were at least tolerated in Jerusalem during the tenth century, if we consider the fact that a variety of liturgical books were circulating in Palestine, by the twelfth century this was no longer the case. This observation applies to all the linguistic and confessional groups addressed here, including the Melkites. Thus, it should not be said that the Melkites followed the "Byzantine liturgical corpus" but rather that they conformed to the ever-developing liturgical practices of other Chalcedonian Christians in Jerusalem and Palestine, including Greeks and Georgians.

For canonists living in Constantinople, such as the twelfth-century exiled Patriarch of Antioch Theodore Balsamon who dealt with questions of liturgy, it seems the doctrinal content of the liturgy was of secondary importance. His exchange with Patriarch Mark of Alexandria, also living in exile in Constantinople, concerning the *Liturgy of St. James* reveals that what mattered most was following the rites of Constantinople.[94] Ironically, so long as Jerusalem was under Byzantine rule, it retained its own local traditions connected to its sacred topography and influenced the rest of eastern and western Christianity. Only after Jerusalem was no longer within the Byzantine Empire did it become Byzantine according to its liturgy, exchanging the local liturgy of the "Cities of the Incarnation" and their various liturgical expressions for a liturgy approved by a foreign, imperial orthodoxy.

Notes

1 Robert F. Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 2001), 187–202.
2 For a general introduction to liturgy in late antique Jerusalem, see Lester Ruth, Carrie Steenwyk, and John D. Witvliet, *Walking Where Jesus Walked: Worship in Fourth-Century Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010).
3 John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*: *The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 228 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1987).
4 *La Liturgie de Saint Jacques: Édition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine*, ed. B.-Ch. Mercier, *PO* 26.2 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1946), 206; *Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Ἀδελφοθέου καὶ τὰ νέα σιναϊτικὰ χειρόγραφα*, ed. Alkiviades K. Kazamias (Thessalonike: Ἵδρυμα Ὄρους Σινᾶ, 2006), 196–97; *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi. Editio – translation – retroversion – commentarii*, Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum 17 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2011), 86.
5 Lorenzo Perrone, "Christian Holy Places and Pilgrimage in an Age of Dogmatic Conflicts," *POC* 48 (1998): 5–37.
6 Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), 49.
7 Stig Symeon Ragnvald Frøyshov, "The Early Development of the Liturgical Eight-Mode System in Jerusalem," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 51 (2007): 139–78. For more on one of the main figures associated with Jerusalem's hymnography, Sophronios of Jerusalem, see Phil Booth, "Sophronius of Jerusalem and the End of Roman History," in *History and Identity in the Late Antique Near East*, ed. Philip Wood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1–27.
8 Daniel Galadza, "Sources for the Study of Liturgy in Post-Byzantine Jerusalem (638–1187 CE)," *DOP* 67 (2013): 75–94.
9 Lorenzo Perrone, *La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche: Dal concilio de Efeso (431) al secondo concilio di Costantinopoli (553)*, Testi e ricerche di Scienze religiose 18 (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1980), 53–59; Hans-Michael Schneider, *Lobpreis im rechten Glauben: Die Theologie der Hymnen an den Festen der Menschwerdung der alten Jerusalemer Liturgie im Georgischen Udzvelesi Iadgari*, Hereditas Studien zur Alten Kirchengeschichte 23 (Bonn: Borengässer, 2004).
10 Gabriele Winkler, "The Appearance of the Light at the Baptism of Jesus and the Origins of the Feast of Epiphany: An Investigation of Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and Latin Sources," in *Between Memory and Hope: Readings on the Liturgical Year*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 291–347.

11 Bernard Botte, *Les origins de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie: Étude historique* (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1932), 26–30, 32–39; Christine Mohrmann, "Epiphania," *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 37 (1953): 644–70. See also Gabriele Winkler, "Die Licht-Erscheinung bie der Taufe Jesu und der Ursprung des Epiphaniefestes," *OrChr* 78 (1994): 177–229; Gabriele Winkler, "Neue Überlegungen zur Entstehung des Epiphaniefests," *ARAM Periodical* 5 (1993): 603–33; Merja Merras, *The Origins of the Celebration of the Christian Feast of Epiphany: An Ideological, Cultural and Historical Study*, 2nd ed. (Joensuu, Finland: Joensuu University Press, 1996); Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity*, Alcuin Club Collections 86 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), 123–30, 149–51.

12 See Titus of Bostra, "Die vielleicht älteste erhaltene Predigt auf das Epiphaniefest: Vier syrische Fragmente des Titus von Bostra (CPG 3578)," ed. Harald Buchinger, in *ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ*: *Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, 2 vols., ed. Diliana Atanassova and Tinatin Chronz, Orientalia – Patristica – Oecumenica 6.1 (Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2014), 1:65–86.

13 Hieromymus Engberding, "Der 25. Dezember als Tag der Feier der Geburt des Herrn," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 2 (1952): 25–43; Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991). For a survey of these questions, see Susan K. Roll, "The Origins of Christmas: The State of the Question," in *Between Memory and Hope: Readings on the Liturgical Year*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 287–89; Susan K. Roll, *Toward the Origins of Christmas*, Liturgia Condenda 5 (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995); Bradshaw and Johnson, *Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity*, 123–51. For the origins of Christmas from the perspective of the East Syrian tradition, see Peter Kuruthukluangra, *The Feast of the Nativity of Our Lord in the Chaldean and Malabar Liturgical Year: A Study of the Sources* (Kottayam: St. Joseph's Press, 1989), 7–11.

14 For more on such views, see Robert F. Taft, "The Liturgical Year: Studies, Prospects, Reflections," in *Between Memory and Hope: Readings on the Liturgical Year*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 13.

15 Georg Kretschmar, "Die frühe Geschichte der Jerusalemer Liturgie," *Jahrbuch für Liturgie und Hymnologie* 2 (1956): 41.

16 Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, ed. Bernard Botte, ed. and trans. F. L. Cross, rev. ed. (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1958), 157, 163, 182–83.

17 Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem, *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, vol. 2: *Édition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits*, ed. Athanase Renoux, *PO* 36.2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971).

18 *Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2:210–11 (§1).

19 *Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2:171–81.

20 Cornelia B. Horn and Robert R. Phenix Jr., ed. and trans., *John Rufus: The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus*, Writings from the Greco-Roman World 24 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 62–63 (§46).

21 For the place of the Shepherds (*Poimnion*) as a liturgical station, see Stéphane Verhelst, "Les lieux de station du lectionnaire de Jérusalem: IIème partie: les lieux saints," *POC* 54 (2004): 261.

22 The manuscript is defective from the ending of the Gospel of Luke until the end of the reading from Genesis. This rubric is supplied by later lectionaries. See *Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2:211n. 10. For more on the cave in Bethlehem as a liturgical station, see Verhelst, "Les lieux de station du lectionnaire de Jérusalem: IIème partie," 248.

23 The reading is interrupted by this hymn, found in ms. J. The text of the hymn has minor differences in ms. P of Renoux's edition. See *Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2:212–13 (§1).

24 *Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2:210–15 (§§1–1bis).
25 For more on the Martyrium (Katholikon) of the Anastasis as a liturgical station, see Verhelst, "Les lieux de station du lectionnaire de Jérusalem: IIème partie," 248.
26 *Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2:214–15 (§§1bis).
27 *Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2:216–23 (§§2–9); Egeria Travels. *Égérie: Journal de voyage (Itinéraire)*, ed. Pierre Maraval, SC 296 (Paris: Cerf, 1982), 252–55 (§§25:10–11), 318–19 (§ 49:3). See also http://www.bombaxo.com/lectionaries.html
28 Winkler, "The Appearance of the Light at the Baptism of Jesus," 294–95.
29 The reading at the *Badarak* is from Matthew 1:18–25 (Christ's birth and Joseph's dream) – not Matthew 2:1–12 (Adoration of the Magi) – and the reading at the concluding water blessing rite is from Matthew 3:1–17 (Baptism of Christ). See Bradshaw and Johnson, *Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity*, 148.
30 *Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2:366–69 (§71); Perrone, *La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 53–59. For more on Patriarch Juvenal, see Ernest Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," *DOP* 5 (1950): 209–79.
31 Michel van Esbroeck, "La lettre de l'empereur Justinien sur l'Annonciation et la Noël en 561," *AB* 86 (1968): 369–71. Armenians under Constantinopolitan influence also celebrated Christmas on December 25 for a time. See Charles Renoux, *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie: le Čašoc'. I. Introduction et liste des manuscrits*, *PO* 44.4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 18.
32 Phil Booth, *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 52 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 21–22.
33 See Leah Di Segni, "Monk and Society: The Case of Palestine," in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 98 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 35–36.
34 *Life of St. Euthymios* 45, in *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. Eduard Schwartz, *TU* 49:2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939), 66–67.
35 Stéphane Verhelst, "Les lieux de station du lectionnaire de Jérusalem. Ière partie: Les villages et fondations," *POC* 54 (2004): 58–59.
36 Esbroeck, "La lettre de l'empereur Justinien," 358 (§9).
37 Esbroeck, "La lettre de l'empereur Justinien," 362 (§20). For more on the feast of Hypapante, see Robert F. Taft and Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Hypapante," in *ODB* 2:961–62; Heinzgerd Brakmann, "Ἡ ὑπαπαντὴ τοῦ Κυρίου: Christi Lichtmess in frühchristlichen Jerusalem," in *Crossroad of Cultures: Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Feulner, Elena Velkovska, and Robert F. Taft, S.J., OCA 260 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 2000), 151–72.
38 Botte, *Les origins de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie*, 86. For the celebration of the Annunciation in Jerusalem during the period preceding Christmas on December 25, see Sebastià Janeras, "Le temps avant Noël dans l'ancienne liturgie de Jérusalem," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* (terza serie) 4 (2007): 109–17.
39 Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (V[e]–VIIIe siècle)*, ed. Michel Tarchnischvili, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 188–189, 204–205 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1959–1960). For a history of the development of Christmas and Theophany in Palestine, see Botte, *Les origins de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie*, 13–21.
40 *Udzvelesi Iadgari*, ed. Elene Metreveli, C. Čankievi, Lili Hevsuriani (Tbilisi: Mecniereba, 1980). For a study of the theology of the hymns in the *Iadgari* for these feasts, see Schneider, *Lobpreis im rechten Glauben*, 175–209, 315–50.
41 Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem*, §1.
42 The title of the December 25 commemoration is missing from several manuscripts of the Georgian Lectionary, explaining why Tarchnischvili's edition does not give the feast day a name. See Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem*, §2 n. 1; *Udzvelesi i Iadgari*, 11.

43 For an analysis of the Christmas services in the Georgian Lectionary, see Gregor Peradze and Anton Baumstark, "Die Weihnachtsfeier Jerusalems im siebten Jahrhundert," *OrChr*, 3rd ser., 1 (1927): 310–18.

44 Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem*, §§ 4–31. See the apparatus of Tarchnischvili for variant indications of tones for the hymns from one manuscript to another. See http://www.bombaxo.com/lectionaries.html

45 See *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi*, 38–141; Galadza, "Sources for the Study of Liturgy in Post-Byzantine Jerusalem," 87–88.

46 "ოხითაჲ ჯ~ ჲ ა: ყოველთა დაბადებულთა შემოქმედი ღმერთი, მამისა თანა მჯდომარეჲ, შენ, ღმრთისმშობელო მარიამ, ჯორცითა შევ. რომელი მწყემსთა ანგელოზა მიერ ბეთლემს ღმერთი გამოუბრწყინდა და ვარსკულავისა მიერ მოგუთა ეუწყა და თაყუანის-სცეს მას, ჩუენცა უღირსნი ესე, ღმრთისმშობელო, შენგან შობილსა ქრისტესა თაყუანის-ვსცემთ და გადიდებთ შენ, კურთხეულო დედათა შორის." *Udzvelesi Iadgari*, 21; Schneider, *Lobpreis im rechten Glauben*, 90.

47 "ჯელთაბანისაჲ: უფალი იშვა ბეთლემს ურიასტანისასა. აღმოსავალით მოვიდეს მოგუნი თაყუანის-ცემად ღმრთისა განკაცებასა, საფასეთა მათთა გულსმოდგინედ ააღეს, ძღუენი პატიოსანი მიუჰყრსე: გამოცდილი ოქრო – დეუფესა საუკუნესა, გუნდრუკი – ღმერთსა ყოველთასა, ვითარცა [სამისა] დღისა მკუდარსა, მერი – უკუდავსა მას. ყოველი თესლები მოვედით, თაყუანის-ვსცეთ, რამეთუ ესე არს მაცხოარი ჩუენ ყოველთაჲ." *Udzvelesi Iadgari*, 21; Schneider, *Lobpreis im rechten Glauben*, 91.

48 "სიწმიდის შემოყვანებისაჲ: რაჲ-მე შევწიროთ შენდა, ქრისტე? რამეთუ გამოშჩნდი ჯორცითა, ვითარცა ცაცი, ჩუენ შორის. თითოეულნი, შენგან ქმნულნი, დაბადებყლნი, მადლობით დიდებასა შემდა შესწირვენ: ანგელოზნი – ქებასა, ცანი – მასკულავსა, მოგუნი – ძღუენსა, მწყემსნი – საკჯრველებასა, ხოლო ჩუენ – დედასა და ქალწულსა. რომელი საუკუნითგან ღმერთ ხარ, შეგჯწყალენ ჩუენ." *Udzvelesi Iadgari*, 22; Schneider, *Lobpreis im rechten Glauben*, 91.

49 "Τί σοι προσενέγκομεν . . ." Enrica Follieri, *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae Graecae*, 5 vols., Studi e testi 211–215 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1960–1966), 4:155.

50 Taft, *Beyond East and West*, 204.

51 Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem, *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem*, §§ 83–116.

52 Nino Sakvarelidze, "Some Aspects of the Byzantinization of Georgian Liturgy: The Example of the Menaion," in *Rites and Rituals of the Christian East: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Lebanon, 10–15 July 2012*, ed. Bert Groen, Daniel Galadza, Nina Glibetić, and Gabriel Radle, Eastern Christian Studies 22 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 284–85.

53 Égérie, *Journal de voyage*, 314 (§47:3–4). The language Egeria refers to as "Syriac" (*siriste*) may actually be Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA). See Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, "Introduction: The Social Presence of Greek in Eastern Christianity, 200–1200 CE," in *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Greek*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, The Worlds of Eastern Christianity, 300–1500 6 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2015), 5.

54 "Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας," in *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμητικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, ed. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1894), 2:200.

55 "Σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ τροπολόγιον πασῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἑορτῶν παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τε τῆς Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως." Sinai Gr. NE ΜΓ 56, fol. 1r. *Τὰ νέα εὑρήματα τοῦ Σινᾶ*, ed. Panagiotes G. Nikolopoulos et al. (Athens: Ἵδρυμα Ὄρους Σινᾶ, 1998), 150 and tab. 11. For Sinai Gr. NE ΜΓ 5, see *Νέα εὑρήματα*, 142 and tab. 49. See also *L'Horologe «géorgien» du Sinaiticus ibericus 34*, ed. Stig Frøyshov, 2 vols. (Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), Institut Catholique de Paris, and Institut de théologie orthodoxe Saint-Serge, 2004), 399;

Alexandra Nikiforova, " 'Sokrovennoe sokrovishche': Znachenie nakhodok 1975 goda na Sinae dlia istorii sluzhebnoĭ Minei," in *Gimnologia* (Moscow) 6 (2011): 28. See also Alexandra Nikiforova, *Iz istorii Minei v Vizantii: gimnograficheskie pamjatniki VIII–XII vv. iz sobranija monastyrja svjatoj Ekateriny na Sinae*, (Moscow: Izd-vo PSTGU, 2012), 28–47. Alexandra Nikiforova is currently preparing a full edition of the manuscripts comprising this Tropologion.

56 Daniel Galadza, "A Greek Source of the Jerusalem Lectionary: Sinai Gr. N.E. ΜΓ 8 (10th c.)," in *ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ: Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, 2 vols., ed. Diliana Atanassova and Tinatin Chronz, Orientalia – Patristica – Oecumenica 6.1 (Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2014), 1:213–28. I would like to thank Archbishop Damianos of Sinai for allowing me to visit the library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine in July 2012 and the librarian, Father Justin Sinaites, for his assistance and for kindly providing a photograph from the manuscript for this publication.

57 *Monuments de la Notation Ekphonétique et Hagiopolite de l'Église Greque: Exposé documentaire des manuscrits de Jérusalem du Sinaï et de l'Athos conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint-Pétersbourg*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Thibaut (St. Petersburg: Kügelgen, Glitsch & Cie, 1913), 17–30 and *3–*11.

58 "Πρός· ἅγιος ὁ Θ(εό)ς· Χριστὸς ἐτέχθη ἐπὶ γῆς." fol. 7v. See Galadza, "Greek Source of the Jerusalem Lectionary," 222.

59 "Ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Τρισαγίου (ἦχος) πλ. δ΄· Χριστὸς ἐτέχθη ἐπὶ γῆς ἐν φάτνῃ, σπάργανα φορέσας, τὰ δεσμὰ διαῤῥύξας τῶν ἀνομιῶν ἡμῶν." See Aleksei Dmitrievsky, ed., *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rykopisei*, 3 vols. (Kiev: Tip. Universiteta sv. Vladimira, 1895–1901), 1: 207. My thanks to Dimitrios K. Balageorgos for this reference. For more on the origins of the manuscript Sinai Gr. 150, see Stefano Parenti, "Per l'identificazione di un anonimo calendario italo-greco del Sinai," in *AB* 115 (1997): 281–87, updated in Stefano Parenti, *A Oriente e Occidente di Costantinopoli: Temi e problemi liturgici di ieri e di oggi*, Monumenta Studia Instrumenta Liturgica 54 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2010), 155–59.

60 Geoffrey W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 1247.

61 See Fig. 9.1 and Table 9.1.

62 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας," 201.

63 *Life of St. Sabas* 32, in *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, 117–18. For more on this question see Juan Mateos, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine: Étude historique*, OCA 191 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1971), 101–02; Timothy E. Gregory, "Theopaschitism," *ODB*, 3:2061.

64 *Описание*, vol. 1, 222–24; John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, eds., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 5 vols. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 4:1311–18.

65 For more on the Trisagion, see Hieronymus Engberding, "Zum formgeschichtlichen Verständnis des ἅγιος ὁ Θεός," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 10 (1930): 168–74; Mateos, *La célébration de la parole*, 91–126; Robert F. Taft, "Trisagion," *ODB* 3:2121; Taft, *Beyond East and West*, 215–16; Kenneth Levy and James W. McKinnon, "Trisagion," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 25:745–46. For the most complete bibliography on the question and the best introduction to the problems surrounding the Trisagion, see Sebastià Janeras, "Le Trisagion: Une formule brève en Liturgie comparée," in *Acts of the International Congress Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948)*, *Rome, 25–29 September 1998*, ed. Robert F. Taft, S.J. and Gabriele Winkler, OCA 265 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2001), 495–562.

66 See Gabriele Winkler's review of Jammo in *OrChr* 66 (1982): 240–41.

67 S. Y. Hermiz Jammo, *La structure de la messe chaldéenne du début jusqu'à l'anaphore: Étude historique*, OCA 207 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1979), 97–99.

68 *The Commentary on the Armenian Daily Office by Bishop Step'anos Siwnec'i († 735): Critical Edition and Translation with Textual and Liturgical Analysis*, ed. Michael Daniel Findikyan, OCA 270 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 2004), 456–58. Gabriele Winkler's review of Findikyan's book does not address this theory, which leads one to assume she accepts Findikyan's correction. Instead, Winkler herself stresses the connection between the Armenian Introit (Psalm 92) and the Georgian *oxitay*. Gabriele Winkler, "M. D. Findikyan's New and Comprehensive Study of the Armenian Office," *OCP* 72 (2006): 399–400.

69 *The Armenian Church Choirmaster's Manual*, ed. Arra Avakian (New York: Diocese of the Armenian Church of North America, 1965).

70 Timothy E. Gregory, "Melchites," in *ODB* 2:1332; Sidney H. Griffith, "The Church of Jerusalem and the 'Melkites': The Making of an 'Arab Orthodox' Christian Identity in the World of Islam (750–1050 CE)," in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 203–04. For the shift in language from Aramaic to Arabic, see Sidney H. Griffith, "From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods," *DOP* 51 (1997): 11–31. See also Nadia Maria El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs 36 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 98–99.

71 See Sebastian P. Brock, "Manuscrits liturgiques en syriaque," in *Les Liturgies syriaques*, ed. F. Cassingena-Trévedy and I. Jurasz, Études syriaques 3 (Paris: Geuthner, 2006), 267. The brief list of Melkite manuscripts in Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensichen Texte* (Bonn: Marcus und Webers Verlag, 1922), 337–38, is known to be incomplete. To my knowledge, there has been no study of the history of the use, nor a clear definition, of the term "Melkite" in the Greek context, although the term is used in Byzantine liturgiology quite frequently to denote any liturgical practice originating from one of the three Chalcedonian Eastern Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. For uses of this term among liturgists, see Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*, American Essays in Liturgy (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 57; *Евхологий Барберини гр. 336: Издание текста, предисловие и примечания*, ed. Elena Velkovksa and Stefano Parenti, trans. Sergey Golovanov (Omsk: Golovanov, 2011), 62. For the history of the term "Melkite" and alternate explanations of its origin, see Alexander Treiger, "Unpublished Texts from the Arab Orthodox Tradition: On the Origin of the Term 'Melkite' and on the Desctruction of the Maryamiyya Cathedral in Damascus," *Chronos: Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand* 29 (2014): 7–37. I thank Harald Buchinger for bringing this article to my attention and Martin Lüstraeten for discussing this question with me.

72 Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 335–39; Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 89–90; Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 8. This follows Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, "Between Hellenism and Arabicization: On the Formation of an Ethnolinguistic Identity of the Melkite Communities in the Heart of Muslim Rule," *Al-Qanṭara* 33:2 (2012): 450.

73 See n. 64 above for more on this practice.

74 To date, there is still no critical edition of the Syriac version of the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, although manuscripts are known, such as Vatican Borgia Syr. 13 (13th c.), fol. 6r–26v. For the Arabic version, see the edition in the volume dedicated to the 1,500th anniversary of the birth of St. John Chrysostom: "Notions générales sur les versions arabes de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome, suivis d'une ancienne version inédite," in *ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΙΚΑ: Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo*, ed. Constantin Bacha (Rome: Libreria Pustet, 1908), 410–41.

75 Joseph-Marie Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires Melkites (XIe–XVIIe siècles)*, Subsidia Hagiographica 45 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1969); *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1902), xvi–xx; *Le Typicon de la Grande Église: Ms. Sainte–Croix n° 40, Xe siècle*, ed. Juan Mateos, 2 vols., OCA 165–166 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1962–1963), 1:viii. For more on Synaxaria, see Andrea Luzzi, "Synaxaria and the Synaxarion of Constantinople," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 2: *Genres and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 197–208.

76 Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires Melkites*, 176–92, 431–33.

77 See *Bibliothecæ apostolicæ vaticanæ codicum manuscriptorum catalogus: in tres partes distributus in quarum prima orientales in altera graeci in tertia latini italici aliorumque europaeorum idiomatum codices*, ed. Stephanus Evodius Assemani and Joseph Simonius Assemani, 3 vols. (1758; reprint, Paris: Librarie Orientale et Américaine, 1926), 2:70–103; Galadza, "Sources for the Study of Liturgy in Post-Byzantine Jerusalem," 83–84.

78 *Nouveaux Manuscrits Syriaques du Sinaï*, ed. Philothée du Sinaï (Athens: Fondation du Mont Sinaï, 2008), 501–20. This description should be read together with André Binggeli, "Un ancien calendrier melkite de Jérusalem (Sinaï syr. M52N)," in *Sur les pas des Araméens chrétiens: Mélanges offerts à Alain Desreumaux*, ed. Françoise Briquel Chatonnet and Muriel Debié (Paris: Geuthner, 2010), 181–94, which corrects Sister Philothée's transcription errors. See also Grigory Kessel's review of *Nouveaux Manuscrits Syriaques du Sinaï*, ed. Philothée du Sinaï (Athens: Fondation du Mont Sinaï, 2008) in *Богословские Труды* 43–44 (2012): 625–34.

79 "Un évangéliaire grec-arabe du Xe siècle (Cod, Sin. ar. 116)," ed. Gérard Garitte, in *Studia Codicologica*, ed. Kurt Treu, *TU* 124 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977), 207–25.

80 For more on hymnography in Melkite manuscripts, see Heinrich Husmann, "Hymnus und Troparion: Studien zur Geschichte der musikalischen Gattungen von Horologion und Tropologion," in *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung: Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Berlin: Verlag Merseburger, 1971), 7–86; Heinrich Husmann, "Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: altsyrisch-melkitisch," *OCP* 42 (1976): 156–96. See also Chapter 8 by Jack Tannous in this volume.

81 Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 152–57. See also Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) for a skeptical view of the continuity of Jewish-Christian traditions in Palestine.

82 See Daniel Galadza, "Liturgical Byzantinization in Jerusalem: al-Biruni's Calendar in Context," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* (terza serie) 7 (2010): 75–81.

83 Sever J. Voicu, "Feste di apostoli alla fine di dicembre," *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 8:2 (2004): 47–77.

84 Ignace Dick, "La Passion arabe de S. Antoine Ruwaḥ, néo-martyr de Damas († 25 déc. 799)," *Le Muséon* 74 (1961): 109–33; Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires Melkites*, 332–34.

85 *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)*, ed. Gérard Garitte, Subsidia Hagiographica 30 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1958), 114.

86 *Calendrier palestino-géorgien*, 23–33. For a description of these manuscripts, see Nikolai Marr, *Описание грузинских рукописей синайского монастыря* (Moscow: Академия Наук СССР, 1940), 99–107, 135–52; Eleni Metreveli, Caca Čankievi, Lili Xevsuriani, and L. Jġamaia, *Kartuli xelnacerta aġceriloba: Sinuri kolekc'ia [Description of Georgian Manuscripts: Sinai Collection]* (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1978), 1:13–38 (Sinai Geo. O. 1), 162–86 (Sinai Geo. O. 59), 187–208 (Sinai Geo. O. 64), 208–09 (Sinai Geo. O. 65).

87 *Calendrier palestino-géorgien*, 35–37.

88 Husmann, "Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: altsyrisch-melkitisch," 156–57. For the "Greek order" of commemorations during December and January, see Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols., *TU* 50–52 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1936–1944), 1:509–32 (December) and 532–66 (January).

89 See José Grosdidier de Matons, "Liturgie et Hymnographie: Kontakion et Canon," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–1981): 31–43, who describes the problems of studying hymnography within a liturgical context.

90 David Bertaina, "Christmas with Mar Ephrem: The Nativity Feast in Early Syriac Tradition," *The Harp* 22 (2007): 67–76.

91 Such connections are emphasized in contemporary theological works as well. See, for example, John Behr, *The Mystery of Christ: Life in Death* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2006), 134–38.

92 Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*, 52–60.

93 ". . . καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τῆς λειτουργίας ψάλλονται τροπάρια β΄. Το α΄, ἦχος δ· Ἡ Γέννησίς σου, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἀνέτειλε τῷ κόσμῳ, τὸ φῶς τὸ τῆς γνώσεως· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς ἄστροις λατρεύοντες, ὑπὸ ἀστέρος ἐδιδάσκοντο· σὲ προσκυνεῖν, τὸν Ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ σὲ γινώσκειν ἐξ ὕψους ἀνατολήν. Κύριε δόξα σοι." *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, 1:156. The second "Troparion" is the Kontakion "Today, the virgin . . ." (Ἡ Παρθένος σήμερον . . .). See Follieri, *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae Graecae*, 2:10, 58–60.

94 Theodore Balsamon, *Guide for a Church Under Islām: The Sixty-Six Canonical Questions Attributed to Theodōros Balsamōn: A Translation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's Twelfth-Century Guidance to the Patriarchate of Alexandria*, trans. Patrick Demetrios Viscuso (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2014), 66–70.

10 The therapy for grief and the practice of incubation in early medieval Palestine

The evidence of the Syriac *Story of a Woman from Jerusalem*

Sergey Minov

The regulation of funerary and mourning practices and attitudes toward death formed a significant part of the educational and pastoral agenda for generations of Christian community leaders and preachers from the religion's earliest days.[1] Tending to those in grief over their dead constituted an important part of Christian pastoral care. Like many other Christian practices and beliefs, it changed over the course of time, adapting to new circumstances or as a result of internal developments. As Antigone Samellas has demonstrated in her monograph on Christian attitudes toward death during late antiquity, the new religion employed a wide range of arguments and strategies to deal with this powerful emotion.[2] Whereas some of them were inherited by Christianity from Classical culture or from Christianity's Jewish matrix, Christians also developed new approaches to coping with loss. This chapter presents and examines hitherto unstudied literary evidence that throws a new light on how the Christians of early medieval Palestine practiced therapy for grief. The most important source is an anonymous hagiographical account called the *Story of a Woman from Jerusalem*, which is attested in the Syriac and Arabic languages.

A summary of the story

The narrative opens with the presentation of the main character, an unnamed rich widow from a noble family, who is said to live in the city of Jerusalem and have five sons.[3] When the three eldest sons reach maturity, she wants to marry them off. However, while she is busy preparing their marriages, they suddenly die. Shaken but not broken by this tragedy, the woman mourns for her dead children for a certain period of time, but she is soon consoled as she still has hope in her two remaining sons. When these reach marriageable age, she starts to make preparations for their weddings. Yet again, as before, the sons suddenly die.

The woman, who has thus lost all hope for the survival of her family, is completely broken by this loss and sinks into despair and mourning. She refuses to end her mourning despite the attempts of her relatives and kinsmen to console her. Even the patriarch of the city tries to comfort her, but he likewise fails in his efforts. As the time of the woman's mourning lengthens beyond all measure,

posing a threat even to her own life, the worried patriarch summons a holy man who resides on the Mount of Olives and entrusts him with the task of helping the woman to find peace.

Like the patriarch, the holy man tries at first to persuade the woman with words. When this approach fails, however, he resorts to another course of action – he sends her to the Church of the Tomb of Mary in Gethsemane and orders her to spend three nights there in vigil and prayer. The woman does as she has been told, and on the third night "a state of stupor" falls upon her and she has a vision. The Virgin Mary appears to her in glory, carried on the throne and surrounded by groups of people praising her. In one of the groups the woman discerns her three oldest sons who died first, bearing candles and wearing splendid white garments, glorifying the Virgin. After that she beholds the two other sons who died more recently; they keep a distance from the groups praising Mary and look sad. As the woman rushes towards them, they rebuke her and forbid her to approach them because her excessive grief for them prevents them from joining the company of their brothers. They urge her to follow the advice of the holy man, for their sake and for the sake of her own soul.

Amazed at what she has seen and repenting over the harm she has caused to the souls of her children, the woman leaves the church and returns to the holy man. After she has informed him about her vision, he outlines for her a regimen: she must immediately cease her mourning, hold a commemorative eucharistic liturgy on behalf of her dead sons, perform acts of charity towards the poor and needy, and engage in prayer and supplication in the church.

The woman complies with all these demands and, after a long time, approaches the holy man again, asking him to inquire whether God has accepted her penitence and united her two young sons with their elder brothers. The holy man agrees and orders her to keep vigil once more at the Tomb of Mary. The woman again has a vision of the Virgin Mary enthroned and praised, but this time all of her five sons are together, rejoicing and wearing bright garments. She returns to the holy man and informs him about the consolation that God has brought to her.

Seeing that she has finally come to terms with her loss, the holy man informs the woman that she will soon die and advises her to put her affairs in order. When she has accomplished that task, she departs from this world. The story concludes with a brief exhortatory passage in which the narrator admonishes his audience against excessive grief and mourning for the dead, relying upon the authority of the apostle Paul.

Textual evidence

This story is attested in Syriac and Arabic versions. The Syriac is found in two manuscripts, the earlier of them being London, British Library Add. 14535.[4] William Wright dated this manuscript to the very beginning of the ninth century on the basis of its finely executed and easily legible Serto script. This manuscript contains an incongruous assortment of texts in different genres that cover a wide range of topics, such as anti-Nestorian polemics, the veneration of the Holy

Cross, and treatises on Christian ethics and spirituality. According to Wright, the "treatise against the Nestorians" that opens this anthology was "compiled by a Monophysite."[5] However, as was convincingly demonstrated by Sebastian Brock, this florilegium reflects a Monothelite Christological agenda.[6] Accordingly, it is highly likely that this manuscript was produced by a Maronite Christian, that is, a member of the Syriac-speaking community whose historical roots lie in the Monothelite Chalcedonian faction of seventh-century Syria-Palestine.[7]

Our account appears on fol. 45v–47r and is preceded by an anonymous *Exhortatory Discourse* that deals with various topics related to Christian ethics. It is followed by another anonymous composition, the *Story of Andronikos and Athanasia*. Such positioning of our account within the manuscript may not be accidental but may reflect a conscious choice on the part of the anthology's compiler. A direct thematic connection links this story and the compositions that precede and follow it. The preceding *Exhortatory Discourse* touches, among other things, upon the topic of "Why it is proper to perform the eucharistic liturgies and funeral repasts on behalf of the departed" (fol. 41r–42r).[8] This question addresses a sort of normative Christian commemoration of the dead that is also propagated by our narrative and uses exactly the same wording for these practices (see §6). In its turn, the following account of Andronikos and Athanasia, a pious couple from Antioch, shares with our story a whole cluster of narrative motifs that include the death of a child, maternal grief, and incubation in the church.[9]

The language of this textual witness to our story appears to be a good specimen of Classical Syriac. There are relatively few cases of irregularity in spelling, among which are the use of ܗܘ for the third person plural perfective verbal form (§2), and such truncated verbal forms of the second person feminine singular as the perfective ܫܒܩ and imperatives ܗܒ, ܥܕܪ, ܚܕ that lack final *yod* in §5. There are also several instances of the *seyame* sign marking plural nouns to be absent, which include ܡܐܬ ܒܪ and ܫܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܐ in §3, and ܥܠ and ܫܢܝ in §5.

Another Syriac version of the story of the Jerusalem widow is found in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Syr. 234, a West Syrian anthology of apocryphal and hagiographic works that was produced in the year 1192 in Antioch, according to its colophon.[10] In this collection, our story appears on fol. 291r–293r. It is preceded by a story of a rich man who lost his children, ascribed to Cyril of Jerusalem, and is followed by the story of the invention of the Holy Cross by Protonike. As in the case of British Library Add. 14535, one can recognize a thematic connection between our story and the preceding account, which also addresses the themes of infant death and parental grief.

The Syriac language of this textual witness is also not free of deviations from standard spelling, although of a different kind than those in British Library Add. 14535. These include ܟܐ for the adverb ܟܐܢ in the title; ܫܢܝܢ for ܫܢܝܐ (§8); ܢܦܠܘ as the third person plural perfective verbal form (§5); and such perfective verbal forms of the third person feminine singular as ܐܡܬ (§2), ܐܬܥܕܪ, ܐܥܒ (§6), ܐܫܩ and ܐܬܚܕ (§7).

While comparing these two Syriac versions of our story, one discovers that whereas the plot line in both of them is basically identical, the two accounts exhibit

some significant differences. As one can clearly see from the table in the Appendix to this chapter, where the two versions are arranged synoptically, the version of Paris Syr. 234 is considerably shorter than that of British Library Add. 14535. Moreover, whereas in many cases the wording of both versions is identical, there are a significant number of sentences where their vocabulary differs considerably. In light of all this, it seems justified to consider these two versions of our story as two different recensions, long and short. Therefore, the question arises as to which of the two is the original one. A close analysis of the two accounts reveals that the shorter version, that of Paris Syr. 234, is secondary in relation to the longer one of British Library Add. 14535.

The most telling demonstration of the dependence of the short version on the long one is found in §4. Here, the idiomatic verbal phrase ܒܚܠܗ ܠܒܗ, "console her" (literally "fill her heart") of British Library Add. 14535 corresponds to the phrase ܒܚܠܗ of Paris Syr. 234, which literally means "fill her." As the latter makes no sense in the immediate context of the sentence in which it appears, it seems reasonable to regard it as an instance of a not particularly careful abbreviation of the former.

The version of our story in Paris Syr. 234 thus appears to be a result of the reworking and shortening of a longer account, identical or very similar to that of British Library Add. 14535. This secondary version can serve as a good illustration of the textual fluidity that characterized the process of transmission of hagiographic works in antiquity. Thus one discovers that in addition to omitting significant portions of the original narrative, the editor introduced some minor changes that appear to be purely stylistic. For instance, he consistently changed the description of the recluse from the Mount of Olives from "the blessed man" (ܡܟܝܟܐ) to "the holy man" (ܩܕܝܫܐ) or has the patriarch come himself to the mourning woman instead of summoning her to him (§3). Moreover, there are examples of the editor augmenting the original text. These expansions include the address to the reader and attribution of the story to a certain "holy man" (§1); the mention of "clergy" alongside the patriarch (§3); the description of the recluse as one "who spoke to no one except his brothers" (§4); and the addition of a command to "fast" as well as pray (§6).

At some point our story was translated into Arabic, as is indicated by the manuscript Paris Syr. 192, dated by 1512, where it appears on fol. 118v–126r as a last item in a collection of homilies of John Chrysostom.[11] Whereas the story itself is in Arabic, written in Garshuni script, it is introduced by the following title in Syriac: "Again, the story of a woman from Jerusalem and her five sons, which reproves and puts to shame those who mourn for their beloved ones beyond measure, (while) teaching not to weep too much for their departed ones."[12] Only a close examination could provide a definite answer on the exact nature of the Arabic version. However, a preliminary investigation into this matter allows me to suggest that it was, most probably, executed from a Syriac original, which was close to the abbreviated version of Paris Syr. 234. This tentative hypothesis is based on the incipit of the Arabic version, quoted by Zotenberg, the wording of which is very similar to the incipit of the Syriac version of Paris Syr. 234, absent from that

of British Library Add. 14535.[13] Thus its addressing readers as "my beloved ones" (احبائي) and claiming the authority of "one of the saints" (واحدًا من القديسين) for the story are exact calques of ܢܬܩܕܫ and ܚܕ ܡܢ ܩܕܝܫ̈ܐ in Paris Syr. 234.

Language, date, and provenance

Given the priority of the long version of British Library Add. 14535, the following discussion of our story considers this recension. Other than brief references in catalogues of Syriac manuscripts, our narrative has received no scholarly attention.[14] The following discussion places the text in its historical contexts by addressing, first, the question of its language, date, and confessional milieu and, second, by examining the kind of cultural work that this account was meant to perform.

As to the question of the original language of our story, even though it is attested so far only in Syriac and Arabic, one needs to exercise a certain caution. It should be taken into account that whereas some of the works that comprise the anthology where it appears (that is, British Library Add. 14535) are of undoubtedly Syriac origin, others are translations from the Greek. For instance, besides the already mentioned homilies of John Chrysostom, the brief hagiographic narrative about Andronikos and Athanasia, which follows our story, is undoubtedly derived from a Greek prototype.[15]

There seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that Syriac was the original language in which our narrative was composed. As far as the Syriac language of the story itself is concerned, leaving aside such well-attested and common Greek loan-words as ܟܣܝܠ (§1), ܦܣܒܪ and ܦܣܩ (§§3,4,6,7), ܟܢܝܢܐ (§4), ܟܐܦܐ (§4), ܦܪܘܝܫ (§5), ܟܬܘܢ (§5) and ܟܣܠ (§5), nothing in the text indicates that it might have been translated from Greek, or any other language for that matter. In addition, I have so far not been able to discover any instance of a Greek-speaking author from the period before the ninth century who was acquainted with this story.

There is also some internal evidence that lends support to the hypothesis of Syriac as the original language of our story. For instance, in the two cases where we come across scriptural quotations in the text, their wording is close to that of the Peshitta version, the standard biblical text used by Syriac-speaking Christians of all denominations. One can see it in §3, where the Peshitta text of Genesis 37:35 is paraphrased, albeit rather freely, and even more clearly in §8, where the words of Paul from 1 Thessalonians 4:13 are quoted in accordance with the Peshitta version of the New Testament.[16] To that one could add the multiple cases of syndetic hendiadys, a stylistic device that figures conspicuously in Semitic poetry and prose, which are scattered throughout our narrative.[17]

It should be stressed, however, that, taken individually, none of these considerations provides a decisive argument for Syriac as the original language of our narrative. Thus Maria Conterno, in her recent publication of extracts from the Monothelite florilegium from British Library Add. 14535, adds a valid caveat that scriptural quotations from the Peshitta can be found also in texts that were

translated into Syriac from Greek – as, for example, in the case of the letter of Sophronios of Jerusalem to Arkadios of Cyprus.[18] It is only when taken together that these arguments make the hypothesis of Syriac as the original language of the story more plausible, even if not completely immune to challenges.

The question of the time of composition of our story is likewise complicated and cannot be answered with an absolute degree of certainty. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by the dating of the oldest Syriac manuscript where it appears – British Library Add. 14535, which was produced during the early ninth century. As to the *terminus post quem*, the situation is far less certain. Crucial for establishing this date appears to be the mention by the author of the Church of the Tomb of Mary in Gethsemane. There is, however, a wide range of opinions as to the date of this building. The earliest possible dating is found in some Byzantine texts, such as the anonymous pre-Crusader *Life of Constantine* (§5), where the church's founding is ascribed to Helena Augusta, the pious mother of Constantine the Great, who visited Palestine in the years 326–327.[19] Another medieval Christian author, Eutychios of Alexandria (10th c.), dates the building of this church to the reign of Theodosius I (r. 379–395).[20] Yet the majority of modern scholars tend to assign the structure to a later period and assert that it was built during the bishopric of Juvenal (425–459), most likely in the 440s.[21] In doing so, they rely mostly on the evidence of the Coptic *Panegyric on Makarios of Tkōw*, attributed to Dioskoros of Alexandria (5th c.), and on the *History of Euthymios*, quoted by John of Damascus (8th c.). Some scholars, however, challenge this consensus and doubt the existence of a church at the site of Mary's tomb during the fifth century.[22] As the scholarly debate over this question continues, it seems more judicious to rely in the meantime on the undisputed testimony of those sources that speak about the existence of this shrine during the first decades of the sixth century. Such evidence is provided by the account of the pilgrimage of Theodosius the Deacon (6th c.)[23] and Version B of the Latin *Breviarius* on Jerusalem (6th c.).[24] Moreover, it is during the sixth century that the Church of the Tomb of Mary becomes a regular fixture of the Holy Land pilgrimage accounts and descriptions of Palestine. It is mentioned, for example, by the Piacenza Pilgrim (6th c.), Epiphanios the Monk (7th c.), and Arculf (7th c.).[25] Taking this date as the *terminus post quem* for our story, it seems most likely that it was composed at some point between the early sixth and the late eighth century.

Since the shrine at the place of Mary's tomb in Gethsemane stands at the center of our narrative, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was composed in Palestine in circles that had some sort of connection to this holy place. As one can see from the references to this church in the Christian pilgrim accounts, the Tomb of Mary was an important cultic site from the sixth century on.[26] Its prominence is further demonstrated by the fact that after the Arab conquest of Palestine this shrine was venerated by the Muslims as well.[27] For instance, according to the testimony of the seventh-century *Maronite Chronicle*, when the first Umayyad ruler, Mu'āwiya, was crowned as caliph at a ceremony in Jerusalem in the year 661, he prayed first at Golgotha and then "went to Gethsemane and went down to the tomb of the blessed Mary to pray in it."[28]

Whereas a Palestinian provenance for our account appears to be quite likely, it is more difficult to ascertain the exact social or cultural milieu in which it originated. On the one hand, it seems plausible to regard it as a part of the body of local lore associated with this particular Marian shrine, the principal *raison d'être* of which was to bear witness to the power and efficacy of this cultic site. There are several examples from across the late ancient Mediterranean of such local material having been amassed and put into circulation as collections of miracles in order to promote particular shrines. Among these one should mention the *Miracles of Thekla* and the martyr's shrine at Seleucia in Asia Minor (5th c.); the *Miracles of Menas* and the Church of Abu Mena, southwest of Alexandria (ca. 5th–6th c.); the *Miracles of Kosmas and Damian* and their church at Kosmidion in Constantinople (6th–7th c.); the *Miracles of Kyros and John*, composed by Sophronios of Jerusalem, and the saints' shrine at Menouthis, northeast of Alexandria (7th c.); the *Miracles of Artemios* and the Church of St John the Baptist in Constantinople (7th c.).[29]

Moreover, it is likely that our story originated in a monastic milieu. In favor of this proposition is, first of all, the general consideration that the genre of edifying stories, to which our text belongs (more on this below), emerged and flourished in monastic circles in the deserts of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. Our narrative establishes connections with the monastic milieu through the anonymous figure of the ascetic from the Mount of Olives. This monk is an important protagonist of the narrative, since it is he and not the representative of an ecclesiastical establishment, such as the city's bishop, who succeeds in finding a way to help the bereft woman. There is ample evidence that the Mount of Olives and the Garden of Gethsemane were popular locations for monastic life and labors from the fourth century on. Christian ascetics inhabiting the slopes of the Mount of Olives are mentioned by Theodosios the Deacon, the Piacenza Pilgrim, Epiphanios the Monk, and several others.[30] This location, thus, serves as one among several examples of a close connection between Christian monks and holy places in late ancient Palestine.[31]

One might find the hypothesis of a Palestinian origin of our narrative to be hardly compatible with the claim that it was originally composed in Syriac. However, it is not very difficult to imagine such a Syriac-speaking Palestinian milieu in which an account like this could originate. We have sufficient evidence for the presence of both West and East Syrian Christians in Jerusalem during the seventh and eighth centuries.[32] One particularly fascinating example of such presence is a testimony provided by the Latin *Memorandum on the Churches and Monasteries in Jerusalem* that, at least during the late eighth century, there existed on the Mount of Olives a small group of Syriac-speaking monks. The Western Christian author of the *Memorandum*, written around the year 808 on behalf of Charlemagne, lists in the passage dealing with the Mount of Olives several groups of hermits distinguished by their language who lived there, "scattered among their cells." Among these, he mentions the six "Syrians" (*Syriani*), who comprised the second-largest group of ascetics at the place, after the Greek-speaking ones.[33] He

mentions also one Syrian hermit living "along the steps, when you go up the holy mount" and another "at the top of the steps in Gethsemane."[34] Unfortunately, we possess no information whatsoever on the connection between these hermits and the two Marian shrines located on the Mount of Olives, or on how far back in history the presence of the Syriac-speaking monks in this area goes, or on their origins and confessional affiliation.[35]

The narrative itself does not feature any unambiguous confessional markers. For instance, the description of Mary as ܝܠܕܬ ܐܠܗܐ, "God-bearer" (§5), a calque from the Greek Θεοτόκος, was common among both the West Syrians and the Syriac-speaking Christians of the Chalcedonian pedigree, namely Melkites and Maronites.[36] Yet there is, I believe, one possible clue to the original milieu of our story. It is provided by the peculiar character of the manuscript in which it appears for the first time, British Library Add. 14535. As has been pointed out above, it is very likely that this anthology was produced by a Maronite Christian. Of course, this does not mean that all the texts in this collection, including our story, were originally composed by the Monothelites or Maronites. In fact, it includes a number of fourth- or fifth-century works such as the homilies by John Chrysostom. Nevertheless, the fact that the earliest channel of transmission of our account is the Syriac-speaking Maronite milieu deserves serious consideration. One should not forget that during most of the seventh century it was Monenergism and Monotheletism that represented "a regional orthodoxy" in the provinces of Syria and Palestine.[37] The history of the transmission of our story, as well as the complete silence of the Greek sources from the sixth and seventh centuries with regard to it, make plausible the hypothesis that this narrative was produced by a Syriac-speaking Monothelite author from Palestine. A good example of such a writer can be found in the person of George of Resh'aina, a native of Syria and defender of the Monothelite cause, who was active in Palestine during the middle of the seventh century and who chose to write the polemical *Life of Maximos the Confessor* not in Greek but in his native tongue.[38]

Medium and message

Understanding the message that our story strives to convey requires consideration of its literary genre. Since it presents the audience with a pious narrative of an anecdotal nature, our text could be related to the genre of "edifying stories" known also as "spiritually beneficial tales" (from Greek διηγήσεις ψυχωφελεῖς; cf. also Lat. *narrationes animae utiles*).[39] These usually brief narratives were produced and circulated primarily in the monastic circles of Egypt and Palestine. Their main purpose was to propagate values and set standards of conduct – first for those who chose to pursue the life of perfection but later on for the secular laity as well. As distinct from the genre of apophthegmata, the sayings of the Desert Fathers that conveyed their teaching, the edifying stories demonstrated how this theory should be applied in the course of everyday life. By providing "real-life" examples of the enactment of Christian virtues, these accounts taught

spiritual lessons while aiming at moral improvement. The earliest specimens of this genre can be traced back to the late fourth century. Such stories circulated as separate units, as in our case, and could be incorporated into other bigger works or aggregated into collections. As an aside, it might be noted that although this genre was particularly fruitful in the Greek-speaking Christian world from the fifth century on, there are not many examples of it in the corpus of original Syriac literature from late antiquity or the early middle ages.[40] This observation may lend additional support to the hypothesis of the Palestinian origins of our account.

The main purpose of our story is to provide a lesson about the wrongness of excessive mourning for the dead. This objective is made explicit in the concluding paragraph, where the authorial voice steps forward to exhort his audience against excessive grief. The Arabic version emphasizes this message in its title, which, augmenting its Syriac original, "reproves and puts to shame those who mourn for their beloved ones beyond measure, [while] teaching not to weep too much for their departed ones." To convey this message, our storyteller presents a narrative in which he brings together several themes and images. While many of these are attested in the previous tradition of Christian grief therapy, some of them appear to be unique and new developments.

The earliest Christian attempt to address the issue of grief over one's dead is found already in the New Testament. In 1 Thessalonians 4:13–18, Paul informs the local Christian community, among other things, "about those who have died" in order to prevent them from grieving as "others who have no hope," that is, their pagan neighbors. According to Paul, it is the belief in the resurrection of Jesus and, moreover, in his imminent Second Coming that provides the main rationale for this, since during the eschatological consummation living Christians will meet their deceased coreligionists, who will be resurrected by God.

Paul's notion of mourning for the dead as an expression of lack of faith in the resurrection became one of the cornerstones of Christian rhetoric against excessive grief.[41] Thus in the second century, in a tractate *On Patience*, Tertullian castigates grief on account of the dead as an indication of a lack of hope, invoking 1 Thessalonians 4:13–18. For the North African preacher, when considered in light of the Christian belief in the resurrection of the dead, this emotion is nothing but an expression of impatience and immoderacy that fails to comprehend the true nature of death as a merely temporary separation. Moreover, he even regards grief as an insult to Christ, who summoned the departed Christians to be with him.[42] Later, in the year 384, we find a similar rhetoric in the letter addressed by Jerome to Paula, a widow who belonged to his circle of rich aristocratic supporters in the city of Rome. Jerome reproaches her for her excessive mourning over the death of her young daughter Blesilla, while relying upon various themes from the repertoire of Christian discourses of consolation, including the idea that mourning over the dead implies doubts about an afterlife.[43]

The Pauline association of excessive mourning with the practices of non-Christian "others," rooted in the dichotomy between believers and those who

deny resurrection, likewise became a popular argument in regularizing and censuring expressions of grief among Christians. One can see this strategy at work in the letter of Jerome, for whom the role of "others" is assigned to the Jews. A similar approach is taken by John Chrysostom, for whom, however, it is "pagans" who fill this role. In the *Homilies on the Gospel of John*, delivered in Antioch during the year 390, Chrysostom rebukes the local women for making an indecent show of their mourning and lamentation by "baring their arms, tearing their hair, making scratches down their cheeks," and compares their behavior to that of the "heathens," who deny resurrection.[44]

Our story certainly endorses this view, as it explicitly acknowledges and reaffirms Paul's authority on the matter by quoting 1 Thessalonians 4:13 (§8). At its core, however, stands another powerful argument against grief for the dead, which rests upon the notion that immediately after his or her death, the soul of a person, especially one who died prematurely, reaches a better place, be that heaven, Paradise, or some other otherworldly abode. This way of consoling parents who have lost their children is well attested already in the Greco-Roman world.[45] Eventually, it was adopted by Christians, so that one comes across such consolatory rhetoric in the works of several Christian authors from late antiquity.[46] For instance, Basil of Caesarea, in a letter addressed to the father of a student who died, consoles his addressee over the untimely death of his son, saying that he has "withdrawn to the better lot" and that "earth has not covered your beloved but heaven has received him."[47] Similar arguments against grief for the dead can be found in the works of other Christian preachers.[48]

When compared with these and other early examples of Christian therapy for grief, our story exhibits not only continuity but some new developments as well. In the first place, it should be noted that unlike the vast majority of Christian consolatory texts from late antiquity, which employ rational arguments based on scriptural or other sorts of reasoning, our narrative describes an alternative scenario in which only a miracle can produce the desired therapeutic effect. The miracle, in our case the vision of Mary and the dead sons, is presented as a last resort, when all attempts of the relatives, the patriarch, and the holy man to comfort the bereft woman by appealing to her reason have failed.

This deployment of supernatural interference seems to signal a new stage in the development of Christian grief therapy. I am aware of only one other example of a similar resort to the miraculous in the Christian East during late antiquity. It appears in the consolatory letter supposedly written by the Alexandrian patriarch Timothy Ailouros († 477). In this work, preserved only in Geez, the patriarch replies to the desperate letter sent to him by a certain upper-class woman who is trying to cope with the sudden loss of her three children. In his attempt to comfort the bereft woman, Timothy employs a number of arguments, most of which appeal to her power of reason. At some point, however, afraid that these may not be sufficient, the patriarch tells an "edifying story" which he heard from his predecessor, Dioskoros of Alexandria, about the holy man named Abba Longinus.[49] The patriarch narrates a miracle about the temporary resurrection of a boy who

had died from a snakebite. Abba Longinus performed this miracle in order to make the child's father come to terms with his loss.

Similarly to the case of therapy for grief described by Timothy Ailouros, our narrative brings to the fore the figure of the holy man as an element which is indispensable to the healing process. It is, first, his status as the master of visionary experience and, second, the close connection to the holy place that enable him to successfully reconcile the woman to her fate.[50] Accordingly, it is he and not the bishop who serves as a catalyst in the healing process. There is additional evidence for this function of a holy man as the last-resort grief therapist in a seventh-century Coptic letter from Hermopolis addressed to a monastic community. Here a man asks the monks to intercede through their prayers on his behalf and especially on behalf of his wife, so that she might overcome her grief over the death of their daughter, because he himself has not been able to console her.[51]

Another remarkable development in the Christian tradition of grief therapy to which our account bears witness is the resort to incubation for the purpose of healing. The practice of dream incubation, that is, of "sleeping in a special place in order to receive a god-given dream," is attested in many religious traditions and can be traced back to the ancient Near East.[52] One of the main reasons for resorting to this ritual was for medical purposes. Incubatory medicine was popular in the Greco-Roman world, the most famous example being the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidauros in southern Greece, which attracted many pilgrims seeking healing.[53] At some point, Christians adopted this practice.[54] The earliest attestations of incubation in Christianity belong to the fourth century; Christian incubation reached its height during the period from the fifth to the seventh century. From this period we possess a considerable body of hagiographic literature, mostly in Greek, that records miraculous healings performed at various incubatory shrines.[55]

There is, however, only sporadic evidence for incubatory healing among the Christians of Palestine during late antiquity or the early middle ages. For the second half of the sixth century we have the testimony of the Piacenza Pilgrim. While recounting his visit to the Sea of Galilee, this author mentions the hot springs called the "Baths of Elijah," located three miles from the city of Gadara, and describes an incubatory procedure for healing leprosy.[56] To that example one may perhaps add the case of the episcopal basilica at Dor on the Mediterranean coast, whose foundations go back to the late fourth century. According to Claudine Dauphin, the large peristyle court of this church served as an incubatory shrine for pilgrims who sought help from the two unidentified saints whose reliquary was located at the eastern end of the southern aisle.[57]

From the period of late antiquity, however, there are few descriptions of Christians resorting to incubation at a time of grief or mourning. I am aware of only one case of this kind, which is found in the Greek *Story of Andronikos and Athanasia*, mentioned above. In this edifying story, which is set in the city of Antioch, the pious couple loses their two children to fever. After they are buried in the Martyrion of Saint Julian, Athanasia refuses to go home; she stays in the

church for the night, immersed in grief. When the bereft mother falls asleep, the martyr himself appears to her in a "vision" (ὀπτασία) and reprimands her for her excessive mourning, pointing out that her children are alive and now enjoying heavenly pleasures. This argument enables her to move from sorrow to consolation.[58]

Does the woman's visionary experience presented in our narrative actually fit the category of incubation? One might doubt this, since there is no explicit mention in the text of her actually falling asleep. The widow, sent by the holy man to the church, spends three nights there "in vigil and prayer" (§5) and then is said to enter a state of "stupor" (Syr. *temhā*) in which she beholds the Virgin Mary and her deceased children. Nevertheless, while acknowledging the deviation of the therapeutic procedure described in our story from the standard pattern of Christian dream healing, I believe it should still be categorized as an incubatory experience. In one of the earliest monographs on incubation in the Greek and Roman world, Mary Hamilton offered a classification of three kinds of incubation. The first is "voluntary," when "the suppliant, after some preliminary ceremonies, lies down in the church with the intention of sleeping and receiving a visitation from the saint whom he has invoked." The second is "involuntary" "when the suppliant falls asleep," either by chance or because "the saint is said to send sleep to him, and while asleep he has a vision which gives him the help or guidance required." In the third type, "the suppliant, by fasting, vigils, and prayers, gets into a certain soporific state of mind and has a divine visitation."[59]

It is this third category of incubatory experience that we observe at work in our account. There is sufficient evidence demonstrating that for Christians in antiquity the dreaming was not a *sine qua non* for the practice of incubation. In the seventh book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen tells about a domestic church called Anastasia, founded in Constantinople by Gregory of Nazianzos in the 380s and later on enlarged into a magnificent basilica.[60] According to the fifth-century Constantinopolitan historian, it was the place where "the power of God was manifested," and it "was helpful both in waking visions and in dreams (ὕπαρ τε καὶ ἐν ὀνείρασι), often for the relief of many diseases and for those afflicted by some sudden transmutation in their affairs."[61] What is remarkable about this testimony is that the divine power that effects healing can manifest itself both in a dream and in a waking state of consciousness. An example of the latter is provided by the Coptic *Life of Makarios of Sketis*. When the father of this holy man gets sick, he spends several nights in a church, hoping for healing. On one night, as he is "keeping vigil," an angel appears to him, heals him, and predicts Makarios's birth.[62]

Although the question of a possible psychophysiological basis of such non-oneiric incubatory visions might be relevant for understanding ancient divinatory practices, it is tangential to the main focus of this investigation. It might be noted only that, as far as our story is concerned, we may legitimately doubt that the psychological state of the woman, who had already been through the long process of grief and after that spent three sleepless nights praying in the church, could be

described as being in a normal waking state of consciousness. Rather, one should regard it as some sort of self-induced altered state of mind reached through prayer, sleep deprivation, and other ascetic practices, such as fasting.[63]

Another important aspect of the *Story of the Woman from Jerusalem* is the connection between the practice of dream healing and the cult of Mary. A relatively large corpus of hagiographic writing from late antiquity describes dream healing. It is remarkable, however, that in most of these cases incubation takes place in the shrines dedicated to various saints, mostly martyrs. Only rarely is Mary involved in the practice prior to the seventh century. One of the earliest examples of incubation sponsored by the Virgin belongs to the first half of the fifth century. In the passage from Sozomen on the Anastasia church in Constantinople, the divine power that was manifested at this shrine and effected healings "was accredited to Mary, the Mother of God, the holy virgin, for she does manifest herself in this way."[64]

From the seventh century, the number of dream healings associated with Mary begins to rise. One such case appears in the collection of Marian miracles written by Anthony of Choziba, a monk from the Monastery of Choziba in the Wadi Qelt in the Judean desert, who was active during the middle of the seventh century. The story that opens his collection describes the miraculous healing of a noblewoman from Constantinople who had a vision of Mary that facilitated her admission to the monastery for incubation.[65] Furthermore, the *Miracles of Artemios*, also from the seventh century, reports that a woman, whose son suffered from a hernia, had at first gone to the church of the Theotokos in the Ta Kyrou quarter of Constantinople, but as she slept there she had a dream that redirected her to the Church of St John the Baptist, where Saint Artemios was operative.[66] These stories reflect the growing role of Mary as intercessor during the sixth and seventh centuries, a process that had various dimensions.[67] Among other things, it found expression in an increasing number of miraculous stories in which Mary assumed the central role. Thus Derek Krueger has examined several miracle accounts from seventh-century Palestine where Mary functions as a barrier that protects sacred space and controls women's access to it.[68]

Our account likewise bears witness to the rise of Mary as intercessor in the context of early medieval Palestine. One question that needs to be seriously considered in this connection is whether the Church of the Tomb of Mary in Gethsemane functioned as a proper healing shrine, or whether the story under discussion is an exceptional case, either imagined or inspired by real-life events. So far, this narrative appears to be the only direct witness to such use of this holy place. There are, however, some indirect testimonies that confirm the Tomb of Mary's importance as a curative shrine. Thus John of Damascus, a Melkite theologian who was active in Palestine during the first half of the eighth century, refers on several occasions in his *Homilies on the Dormition* to Mary's tomb in Gethsemane as a powerful source of divine blessing that expressed itself among other things in physical healing. In the first of these homilies he relates that after Mary's body "gave it a share of divine fragrance and grace," the tomb became "a source of healing (πηγὴν τῶν ἰαμάτων) and of all good gifts for those who approach it in

faith."[69] In the second homily, where John causes the impersonated tomb to speak, it presents itself in the following words: "Now divine grace dwells in me. I have been revealed as a source of healing, a remedy for pain (ἰατρεῖον ἀλεξίπονον). I am a constant spring of health (πηγὴ ἰαμάτων). . . . If anyone thirsts for the healing of illness (νοσημάτων ἴασιν), for release from the soul's passions (ψυχικῶν παθῶν ἀπολύτρωσιν), . . . let him come to me in faith and draw from the stream of grace."[70] Such a strong emphasis on the curative powers of the Virgin's tomb is quite remarkable and deserves closer attention. Whereas it might be an exaggeration to call this shrine, as one scholar did on the basis of John's *Homilies*, "the Lourdes of its era," it would certainly be wrong to dismiss this evidence as a mere exercise in rhetorical ingenuity.[71] Taken together with the evidence provided by our story, these passages offer a valuable testimony for the functioning of the Church of the Tomb of Mary in Gethsemane as a healing shrine during the early medieval period. It is striking that one of the types of healing mentioned by John in connection with Mary's tomb, namely "release from the soul's passions," aims at restoring the integrity of the soul and thus corresponds exactly to the therapeutic process described in our account.

One additional observation on the choice of the Tomb of Mary as the incubatory shrine in our story should be made. Although not made explicit by the narrative, the holy man's choice of this church in particular might be related to the notion of Mary as a paradigmatic mother figure whose personal experience includes that of grieving for her dead child and, thus, makes her an especially appropriate intercessor for the bereft woman. The powerful image of the Virgin lamenting over the dead body of Christ is well attested in the Greek-speaking Christian tradition from the sixth century onwards, as the kontakion *Mary at the Cross* by Romanos the Melodist demonstrates.[72]

However interesting the question of the historical verisimilitude of our narrative or of any of its building blocks may be for scholars of Christianity, it was certainly of secondary importance for its author. He does not provide any details that might help his audience link the described events to any specific moment in history. He presents the story not to impart knowledge of some fact or event but in order to convey a clear message concerning the inappropriateness of excessive grief for the dead. In that, our text provides a good example of the diegetic hagiographical discourse, the essential purpose of which was "not the accurate representation of historical events, but the direct involvement of the audience in the narrative."[73]

The *Story of the Woman from Jerusalem* seeks to achieve this goal by presenting the audience with an exemplar of the proper Christian attitude to death. By making the main hero of the narrative, the rich widow, move from despair and denial to acceptance of her fate, the author turns her into an "example and model" (§8) of this virtue, which should be emulated by believers. As such, the woman is likened to the biblical figure of Job, another exemplar of the proper attitude toward the death of children often evoked in the Christian tradition of therapy for grief. For instance, in the *Story of Andronikos and Athanasia*, mentioned above, the immediate reaction of the husband to the death of the couple's children is to

thank God while quoting Job 1:21.[74] Examples of a similar use of Job 1:18–21 abound in the Byzantine hagiographical literature.[75]

An additional aspect of how our story engages its audience goes beyond the paradigm of exemplification and deserves a separate mention. It comes to the fore at the pivotal point of the narrative – that is, in the meeting between the widow and her two dead sons when they reproach their mother for her excessive mourning, which is preventing them from joining the heavenly assemblies (§5). The immediate therapeutic objective of this turn of the plot is to draw the mourner into a psychodrama that will result in a clash of emotions in which one strong emotion – grief for the dead – will be neutralized by another one – namely, anxiety for their fate in the afterlife.

This episode seems to reflect the notion that excessive mourning for the dead can negatively affect the postmortem fate of their souls. This idea, in its turn, is related to the general Christian belief that the ritual behavior of the living can affect the fate of the deceased. In its most prevalent form, this belief expresses itself in the conviction that by their prayers the living could change the fate of the deceased for the better.[76] In our story, however, we see this typical pattern of interaction between the living and the dead developed in a new direction, where the actions of the former are imagined as being able to change the condition of the latter for the worse.

Our account may well provide the earliest manifestation of this peculiar notion in the Christian tradition of speculations about the afterlife in general, or of grief therapy in particular. A detailed discussion of its genesis and function would demand a separate study, but for the moment I will confine myself to pointing out several close parallels to this strategy of dealing with grief that come from other religious traditions of the early medieval Near East.

One comes across a similar rhetoric in Zoroastrianism with its prohibitions aimed at grief and mourning for the dead, grounded in the belief that such behavior would strengthen the forces of evil.[77] For example, in the Middle Persian composition *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag*, a description of the extraterrestrial journey of the soul that includes visions of heaven and hell, the visionary righteous man Wirāz beholds in hell a mighty river on the banks of which are gathered the souls of the dead and their guardian angels. Whereas some of these souls cross the river without difficulty, others can barely do so or even fail to get to the other side. According to the explanation given to the seer, this river is comprised of the tears shed by the relatives of the deceased; by excessive mourning for their dead they prevent those souls from attaining peace in the afterlife.[78] A similar anti-mourning rhetoric is found also in some Manichaean sources, such as the Middle Persian fragment M 45 from Turfan.[79] This document contains a parable in which the Manichaean female auditor named Xēbra, who is weeping excessively over her deceased child, is made to realize that by mourning for her "corporeal" (*nesāhēn*) son she is killing her "spiritual" (*gyānēn*) son.

Similar ideas appear in Islamic tradition, which valorizes the virtue of *ṣabr* (patience, endurance) and strives to impose restraints on excessive mourning over the dead associated with the reprehensible customs of the pre-Islamic *jāhiliyya*.[80]

Thus a ḥadith, found in the *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal (8th–9th cc.), ascribes prophetic authority to the saying, "the dead one is tormented in his grave because of the wailing over him."[81] This notion is developed even further in the imagery of *'adhāb al-qabr*, the punishment of spirit and corpse in the grave so that, for example, whenever a woman wails for the deceased, the punishing angel strikes him with a burning iron rod.[82]

It remains to be seen whether there is any connection between these views on the negative effects brought upon the souls of the dead by excessive mourning and our story. Of particular interest in this respect is the Zoroastrian evidence, which may predate our text. While this line of investigation is certainly worth pursing, it might well be that this notion is the result of an independent internal development in each of these four religious traditions. If that turns out to be the case, we may wonder whether this stance toward mourning signals the rise of a new medieval sensibility concerning the afterlife in general and grief for the dead in particular.

* * *

The preceding discussion demonstrates how the concise Syriac account of one woman's loss, grief, and reconciliation can provide valuable evidence for the private religious practices of the Christians of early medieval Palestine and, most specifically, the use of the church of the Tomb of Mary on the Mont of Olives as a healing shrine. In addition, our story throws light on a remarkable transformation in the way Christians regularized the practice of mourning, placing a "therapy of miracles" alongside the "therapy of the word." This shift is closely related to such long-term and profound developments in the economy of Christian intercession as the rise of the holy man and the maturation of Marian devotion.

Appendix

Text and translation[83]

	British Library Add. 14535, fol. 45v–47r	*Paris Syr. 234, fol. 291r–293r*
	ܡܠܦܢܐ ܕܒܝ ܡܪܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܟ ܡܫܬܒܚ	ܡܟܬܒܐ ܡܫܠܡܐ ܡܪܝ ܠܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐ ܡܠܦܢܐ ܕܒܝ ܡܪܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܟ ܡܫܬܒܚ
1	ܡܫܠܡܐ ܡܪܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܦܢܟ ܢܐ ܢܚܡ ܒܝܢ ܡܪܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐ ܡܠܦܢܟ ܢܐ ܢܚܡ ܒܝܢ ܡܪܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ

British Library Add. 14535, fol. 45v–47r	*Paris Syr. 234, fol. 291r–293r*
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(*Continued*)

British Library Add. 14535, fol. 45v–47r	*Paris Syr. 234, fol. 291r–293r*
7 ܕܐܝܬ ܒܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܕܫܡܝܗ ܘܥܬܝܪܬ ܒܢܟܣ ܘܒܐܘܨܪ̈ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܠܗ ܚܡܫܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܬܪܒܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܐܘܠܦܢܐ ܘܒܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܪܒ̈ܪܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܘܪܚ̈ܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܪܒ̈ܪܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܘܪܚ̈ܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܪܒ̈ܪܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܘܪܚ̈ܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ̈ܐ ܕ	ܐܝܬ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܠܗܘ ܒܝܪ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܕܫܡܝܗ ܘܥܬܝܪܬ ܒܢܟܣ ܘܒܐܘܨܪ̈ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܠܗ ܚܡܫܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܬܪܒܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܐܘܠܦܢܐ ܘܒܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܪܒ̈ܪܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܘܪܚ̈ܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ̈ܐ ܕ
8 ܕܒܝܫܐ ܥܒܝܕܐ ܠܝܫܪ̈ܝܠ ܡܬܠܐ ܕܐܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܝܫ̈ܐ ܕܐܡܪ̈ܘ ܒܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܕܫܡܝܗ ܘܥܬܝܪܬ ܒܢܟܣ ܘܒܐܘܨܪ̈ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܠܗ ܚܡܫܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܬܪܒܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܐܘܠܦܢܐ ܘܒܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܪܒ̈ܪܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܘܪܚ̈ܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ̈ܐ ܕ	ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܡܫܬܟ̈ܚ ܐܬܐ ܠܝܫܪ̈ܝܠ ܕ ܐܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܝܫ̈ܐ ܕܐܡܪ̈ܘ ܒܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܕܫܡܝܗ ܘܥܬܝܪܬ ܒܢܟܣ ܘܒܐܘܨܪ̈ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܠܗ ܚܡܫܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܬܪܒܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܐܘܠܦܢܐ ܘܒܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܪܒ̈ܪܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܘܪܚ̈ܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ̈ܐ ܕ

British Library Add. 14535, fol. 45v–47r	*Paris Syr. 234, fol. 291r–293r*
The story of a certain woman from Jerusalem.	*Again, the story of a certain widow and her five sons. Let their prayer be with us. Amen.*
1 There was a certain woman in Jerusalem, widow from a renowned family, who had abundance of wealth and worldly possessions. And she had five sons, whom she raised in instruction and in the doctrine of wisdom, and in all that rectitude, which is proper to men of nobility. And when they reached the measure of age and were, so to say, loved and praised by all people of the city – not on account of the comeliness of their beauty only, but also because of the wisdom and good manner of life that they have attained, – their mother wanted to bring them under the yoke of marriage, according to the custom of the world, and to entrust to them her house and possessions.	My beloved ones, one of the holy men related and said that there was in Jerusalem a certain widow from a renowned family, and she was very rich. And she had five sons, and she raised them in all the rectitude, which is proper to men of nobility. And they were loved by the whole city – not on account of their beauty only, but also because of their virtue. And their mother wanted to bring the eldest sons under the yoke of marriage.

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2 And while she took pains and made preparations to betroth and provide wives for these eldest sons of hers, it happened that death came upon them and (all) three of them died within a few days. And although she grieved enough about this, she however still had a hope and consolation in these two (sons) that remained. Therefore, in a short time her sorrow for these, who departed, abated and passed over. And, again, when the time passed and these other sons of her also grew up and came to maturity, she wanted to provide wives for them also, and to mend through them the downfall of her family. And, as she made preparations to bind them together (in marriage) and to make them perfect in the necessities of the world, the day of their end came and they also died like their brothers.	And while she was planning that, it happened that death came upon them and (all) three of them died within few days. And that woman grieved and mourned greatly. However, she still had a hope and consolation in these two other sons of her. Therefore, in a short time her sorrow for these, who departed, abated. And when these others grew up, she wanted to provide wives for them also. And as she was planning that, death came upon them and they died like others.
3 And when that woman lost thus all her hope, and was heartbroken and completely bereft, she fell into sorrow and great misery. As it is written about the patriarch Jacob: "His sons and the whole of his household rose to comfort him over Joseph, but he did not want to be comforted and said, as his soul was affected by sorrow: 'I shall go down to Sheol, while mourning for my son!'"[84] And it likewise happened to this woman – when many relatives and kinsmen would come to her to console and comfort her over the death of her sons, she did not want to be comforted. And even the venerable patriarch of the city, because he loved her sons, would oftentimes send to bring her to him, and made her worthy of speaking with him. But even of him she was not ashamed enough in order to become persuaded and to assuage her sorrow, and to let the distress of her mind go.	And then that woman lost all her hope and fell into sorrow and great misery. As it is written about the patriarch Jacob: "His sons and the whole of his household rose to comfort him over Joseph, but he did not want to be comforted, while saying in the sorrow of his soul: 'I shall go down to Sheol, while mourning for my son!'"[85] And it likewise happened to this woman – many gathered in order to comfort her, but she did not want to be comforted. And even the patriarch, because he loved her and her sons, would oftentimes come to her with his clergy, but nothing would help.
4 And as the time of her mourning lengthened and she was about to wear away and perish through her excessive weeping and misery, the venerable and godly patriarch sent after a certain recluse, who lived on the Mount of Olives. The man was adorned with virtue and, moreover, his soul was greatly enlightened by divine visions. The venerable	And she was about to perish through her excessive sorrow and tears. Then the patriarch sent after a certain holy man, who lived as a recluse on the Mount of Olives, the man adorned with every virtue, who spoke to no one except [his brothers].[86] And he persuaded him to [console][87] this wretched woman, and to

(*Continued*)

British Library Add. 14535, fol. 45v–47r	*Paris Syr. 234, fol. 291r–293r*
patriarch persuaded this one to take upon himself the burden of discernment on account of that woman and to take great care so that he might convince her, and console her, and comfort her. And although he had a custom of having no business with women, the holy man, obedient to the command of the high-priest, received that woman and admonished her with many words. And when she did not give heed to the persuasion of his word or to the weightiness of his virtue and, therefore, all human means to reach towards her failed, he besought the Almighty God that he would compel her in some other way to succumb to what is better (for her).	talk to her and to comfort her. And the holy man accepted the command of the high-priest and sent to bring her to him. And he spoke to her with many words and comforted her, but this did not suffice at all.
5 And he ordered her to go to the adorable church of the holy Lady Mary, the Mother of God, which is in Gethsemane, and to spend there three nights in vigil and prayer. And he sent a word to those, who guard the church, not to hinder her from (doing) this. And when she went and did as that blessed man commanded her, on the third night a (state of) stupor fell upon her and she saw in a vision the holy and most blessed Lady Mary, carried about on the throne of glory, while assemblies and companies uttering praise were going in front and all around her. And when that grieved woman became stupefied and amazed at this marvelous sight, she saw the three eldest sons of her, bearing wax candles and wearing splendid white garments, while going together with the company uttering praise in front of the holy one. And after they passed by and went away, she saw also the two younger sons of her, for whom she was mourning, – they followed that assembly from afar, with their faces sad and mournful. And when their mother saw them, she rushed forward towards them. They, however, turned to her with an angry reproof and said: "Do not approach us! For through your disorderly grief and excess of your mourning for us you have deprived us of the company and enjoyment of our brothers and of those, who are with them. And now, if you do not want	And when this holy man saw that all human means failed, he ordered her to make herself present at Gethsemane, and to perform there three vigils at the tomb of the Mother of God. And he sent a word to those, who keep the place, not to hinder her. And on the third night a (state of) stupor fell upon her and she saw in a vision the holy and most blessed Lady Mary, carried about on the throne of glory, while assemblies and companies uttering praise were going in front and all around her. And she saw them, the three eldest sons of her, bearing wax candles and wearing white (garments), while going in the company that was uttering praise in front of the holy Lady Mary. And when these passed by and went away, she saw also these two other sons of her, for whom she was mourning, – they followed after the assemblies, with their faces sad and mournful. And when she saw them, she rushed forward towards them. They, however, waxed hot in anger at her and said: "Do not approach us! For through your disorderly grief and mourning for us you have deprived us of the company and enjoyment of our brothers. Now, if you do not want to destroy your own soul and us together with you, go and do everything that that holy man ordered you."

British Library Add. 14535, fol. 45v–47r	*Paris Syr. 234, fol. 291r–293r*
to destroy your own soul and to inflict harm upon us together with you, then go and listen to and do what that blessed man will order you." 6 Amazed over what she has seen and heard, while regretting and feeling sorrow in her mind for having caused harm to herself and to her sons, that grieved woman went out (of the church) and went to that blessed man, who sent her, and told him everything that she had seen and heard. And when she thus indeed became persuaded to accept advice of that man, he ordered her to go and remove her garments of mourning, and to don those suitable for her consolation, and to console her heart from grief, and to make her face bright from sorrow, and to perform the eucharistic liturgy and funeral repast on behalf of her sons, and to receive and relieve the poor and destitute and all her relatives that mourned together with her, and to visit the needy and oppressed, and to persevere always in prayer and supplication in the church.	Then, when she saw and heard these, she felt a great sorrow in her mind for having caused harm to herself and to her sons. And then she went up to that holy man and told him everything that she saw and heard. And she asked him to advise her on what would be better for her. He then ordered her to take off her garments of mourning and to console her heart from grief, and to perform the eucharistic liturgies and funeral repast on behalf of her sons, and also to relieve the poor and all those who mourned together with her, and to persevere in fast and prayer in the church.
7 That woman then went and did everything that was ordered to her. And after a long time she besought that holy man to make petition to God and to show her again whether God accepted her penitence and brought her two younger sons near to their elder brothers as well. That blessed man, while praying that he would completely relieve her mind, accepted her plea and ordered her to go and to do as the first time. And when she did thus, that first vision appeared to her again, – and the blessed and most holy Lady Mary carried about and honored by those holy spiritual assemblies. That woman saw then the five sons of her together among those glorifying assemblies, while rejoicing and shining in their garments. And when her mind rejoiced and exulted over what she saw, she turned to that holy man, who sent her, and made known to him the gladness and complete consolation that God brought to her.	She then went and did as he ordered to her. And after some time she besought that holy man to make petition to God so that he would show her whether her penitence has been accepted and whether he brought her sons near to each other. The holy man then ordered her to go and do as the last time. And when she did thus, the blessed Lady Mary appeared to her, while carried about by the spiritual assemblies. And she saw the five sons of her together among those glorifying assemblies, while rejoicing and shining in their garments. And she went up to that holy man in great gladness and told him what she saw.

(*Continued*)

British Library Add. 14535, fol. 45v–47r	*Paris Syr. 234, fol. 291r–293r*
8 That blessed man then ordered her to go and to take care and to administer her affairs well, because not much time is left for them. And, thus, after she provided for all her servants in the fear of God, she departed from the world. God gave her as an example and model in the likeness of the blessed Job to these, who are after her, so that no one would mourn and grieve over his dead unduly and become like "the people who have no hope,"[88] according to the word of the apostle. But while we are sustained by the firm trust in God and by the promise of the new life of that true world of His that does not pass and does not perish, let us trust in Him and expect that we will rejoice together with those who departed and will find comfort in these goods that do not pass away in the ages of ages.	He then ordered her to go and manage her possessions well, because her departure to them (i.e. her sons) was near. She then did as he ordered her. And she departed from this world, while being a good model to these, who are after her, as was the blessed Job; so that no one would mourn over his dead in an improper manner, as someone "who has no hope," as the apostle said. Let us, however, expect that together with those, who departed, we would inherit the life that does not vanish away.
Amen.	Completed is the story of the widow and her sons.

Notes

1 For a general overview of Christian attitudes and practices related to death and mourning during late antiquity and the early middle ages, see Alfred C. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity 1 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1941); Antigone Samellas, *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50–600 A.D.): The Christianization of the East: An Interpretation*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 12 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002); Éric Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 59 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Nicholas P. Constas, "Death and Dying in Byzantium," in *Byzantine Christianity*, ed. Derek Krueger, A People's History of Christianity 3 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 124–45.

2 See Samellas, *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean*, esp. 70–115. Among the important contributions to this field are: Maria E. Doerfler, "The Infant, the Monk and the Martyr: The Death of Children in Eastern Patristic Thought," *Le Muséon* 124 (2011): 243–58; Verna E. F. Harrison, "Children in Paradise and Death as God's Gift: From Theophilus of Antioch and Irenaeus of Lyons to Gregory Nazianzen," *SP* 63: 11 (2013): 367–72; Chrysi Kotsifou, "'Being Unable to Come to You and Lament and Weep with You': Grief and Condolence Letters on Papyrus," in *Unveiling Emotions: Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World*, ed. Angelos Chaniotis, Alte Geschichte: Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 52 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2012), 389–411.

3 This summary is based on the longer recension of the story as it appears in the manuscript London, British Library Add. 14535, fol. 45v–47r. For the Syriac text and English translation of both recensions, see Appendix.

4 For a description, see William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, Acquired since the Year 1838* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1870–1872), 2:796–99.

5 Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, 2:796.

6 See Sebastian P. Brock, "A Monothelete Florilegium in Syriac," in *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Professor Albert van Roey for His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Carl Laga et al., Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 18 (Leuven: Peeters, 1985), 35–45. According to Brock, the florilegium was produced during the seventh century. On this work, see also Maria Conterno, "Three Unpublished Texts on Christ's Unique Will and Operation from the Syriac *Florilegium* in the ms. London, British Library, Add. 14535," *Millennium* 10 (2013): 115–44.

7 For an excellent introduction to the obscure and entangled early history of this Christian group, see Jack Tannous, "In Search of Monotheletism," *DOP* 68 (2014): 29–67.

8 ܥܠ ܗ̇، ܕܐܡܪ ܕܢܚܒܫ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܘܢܫܬܐܠ ܠܒܢܝܢܫܐ; *apud* Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, 2:798.

9 For the Greek text, English translation, and discussion of this hagiographical work, see Anne P. Alwis, *Celibate Marriages in Late Antique and Byzantine Hagiography: The Lives of Saints Julian and Basilissa, Andronikos and Athanasia, and Galaktion and Episteme* (London: Continuum, 2011). This story appears also as a part of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, *Anonymous Collection* 596.10; see John Wortley, ed., *The Anonymous Sayings of the Desert Fathers: A Select Edition and Complete English Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 444–55.

10 For a description, see Hermann Zotenberg, *Manuscrits orientaux: Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1874), 182–85; and, recently, Émilie Villey at http://www.mss-syriaques.org/eng/ref/140801/Paris_BnF_syr._234_[anciennes_cotes_:_ancien_fonds_143_;_Colbert_5137]/. I am most grateful to Flavia Ruani for her generous help with obtaining a copy of this manuscript.

11 For a description, see Zotenberg, *Manuscrits orientaux*, 134.

12 ܬܘܒ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܐܢܬܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܡܣ̈ܟܢܐ ܒ̈ܢܝܗ̇ ܕܡܟܣܐ ܘܡܟܣܘܬܐ ܠܐܘܠܝܡ ܕܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ ܡܬܐܒܠܝܢ. ܥܠ ܫ̈ܟܝܒܝܗܘܢ ܘܡܠܦܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܒܟܘܢ ܗܟܢ ܥܠ ܥܢ̈ܝܕܝܗܘܢ; Ibid.

13 ܠܐ ܐܢܫܟܐ، ܡܛܠ ܘܐܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܝܫܡ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪܐܗ ܘܐܢܫܐ ܐܘܪܚܗ ܒܐܢܫ ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ; Ibid.

14 Cf. also a brief summary in François Nau, "Hagiographie syriaque: Saint Alexis.—Jean et Paul.—Danel de Galaš.—Hannina.—Euphémie.—Sahda (1).—Récits de Mélèce sur le vendredi, sur Marc et Gaspar, et sur un homme riche qui perdit tous ses enfants.—Légendes de Pierre le publicain, d'une veuve et d'une vierge de Jérusalem, de Jean, moine d'Antioche." *ROC* 15 (1910): 196.

15 For the references to the editions of its Greek versions, see n. 9 above. A longer Syriac version of this story has been published by Paulus Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*. 6 vols. (Paris: Harrassowitz, 1890–1897), 6:405–17; for a French translation, see François Nau, "Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel de Scété (VIe siècle), II. Texte syriaque," *ROC* 5 (1900): 401–06.

16 For the original Syriac versions of these passages, see Taeke Jansma and Marinus D. Koester, eds., *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version. Part I, Fascicle 1: Preface; Genesis – Exodus* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 83; Barbara Aland and Andreas K. Juckel, eds., *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung. Bd. II: Die Paulinischen Briefe, Tl. 3: 1./2. Thessalonicherbrief, 1./2. Timotheusbrief, Titusbrief, Philemonbrief und Hebräerbrief*, Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 32 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 87.

17 Cf. ܕܚܠܡܐ ܘܡܣܝܒܐ ܘܡܒܝܬܪܐ (§1), ܡܒܪܘܬܐ ܘܡܥܘܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܚܒܠܬܐ (§1), ܡܚܪܐ ܘܡܥܩܐ (§2), ܙܪܥ ܘܐܬܦܠܓ (§2), ܡܐܟܠܐ ܘܡܫܩܝܢܐ ܙܟܐ (§3), ܢܦܫܗ̇ ܘܡܦܠܐ ܟܠܗ̇ ܘܡܥܩܐ ܗ̇ (§4), etc. For examples of this rhetorical technique in Syriac literature and discussion, see Robert R. Phenix, *The Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin: Rhetoric and Interpretation in Fifth Century Syriac Literature*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 50 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 166.

18 See Conterno, "Three Unpublished Texts," 137.

19 See Michelangelo Guidi, "Un βίος di Costantino," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* V, 16 (1907):

644. However, since this work depends on the account of Epiphanius, it reflects the topographical situation of the eighth to the eleventh century, and its testimony cannot be accepted. See John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxbow, 2011), 387.

20 Eutychios of Alexandria, *Annal*s 222; Michel Breydy, ed., *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien: Ausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Sa'id ibn Baṭrīq um 935 A.D.*, CSCO 471–472, Arab. 44–45 (Louvain: Peeters, 1985), 88 [Arab.], 73 [trans.].

21 See Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 306, who relies upon the testimony of John of Damascus (*Hom*. 21.18); Gregory T. Armstrong, "Fifth and Sixth Century Church Building in the Holy Land," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 14:1 (1969): 17–30; Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 203–04; Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Mary's Dormition and Assumption*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 100; Vered Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled: The Early Byzantine Concentric Churches of Jerusalem,* Oxford Studies in Byzantium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 166.

22 See Rina Avner, "The Initial Tradition of the Theotokos at the Kathisma: Earliest Celebrations and the Calendar," in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 20–22.

23 See Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 109.

24 See Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 121.

25 See Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 138, 212, 177–78.

26 On this site and its veneration by Christians during late antiquity and the early middle ages, see Ora Limor, *Masorot noṣriyot shel Har-ha-Zetim ba-tequfot ha-bizanṭit veha-'arvit* (M.A. thesis, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1978), 37–39, 99–112; Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 202–06; Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions*, 98–107; Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled*, 141–67.

27 See Augustin Arce, "Culte islamique au tombeau de la Vierge," in *Atti del Congresso Assunzionistico Orientale organizzato dalla Custodia di Terra Santa, Gerusalemme 8–11-XII-1950* (Gerusalemme: Tipografia dei Francescani, 1951), 175–94; Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimages*, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 138–41.

28 Ernest W. Brooks, ed., *Chronica minora, Pars secunda*, CSCO Syr. III.4 (Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1904), 1:71; Andrew Palmer, Sebastian P. Brock, and Robert G. Hoyland, trans., *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, Translated Texts for Historians 15 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993), 31.

29 For a discussion of these collections as well as some later representatives of the genre, see Stephanos Efthymiadis, "Collections of Miracles (Fifth–Fifteenth Centuries)," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography. Vol. 2: Genres and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 103–42.

30 For the relevant testimonies, see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 109, 138, 212.

31 For more examples and discussion of this phenomenon, see Hagith S. Sivan, "Pilgrimage, Monasticism, and the Emergence of Christian Palestine in the 4th Century," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Robert G. Ousterhout, Illinois Byzantine Studies 1 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 54–65; Mordechai Aviam and Jacob Ashkenazi, "Late Antique Pilgrim Monasteries in Galilean *Loca Sancta*," *Liber Annuus* 64 (2014): 559–73.

32 See Amnon Linder, "Christian Communities in Jerusalem." in *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period, 638–1099*, ed. Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1996), 153–56.

33 Michael McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land: Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Humanities (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2011),

206–07. Besides Greeks and Syrians, the text mentions Georgian, Armenian, Latin and Arabic-speaking monks.

34 McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land*, 206–07.

35 It is also impossible to ascertain, on the basis of this evidence, whether these "Syrians" were speakers of Classical Syriac, that is, the Edessene dialect of Eastern Aramaic, or of Christian Palestinian Aramaic. On the latter group, see Sidney H. Griffith, "From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods." *DOP* 51 (1997): 16–24.

36 For the Melkites, see Natalia Smelova, "Melkite Syriac Hymns to the Mother of God (9th–11th Centuries): Manuscripts, Language and Imagery," in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 126, 129–30. For the Maronites, see Jean Baptiste Chabot, "La liturgie attribuée à saint Jean Maron. Texte syriaque extrait des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 43 (1965): 20, §23.

37 Tannous, "In Search of Monotheletism," 30. A similar point was made earlier by Sebastian P. Brock, "An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor," *AB* 91 (1973): 345; and Milka Levy-Rubin, "The Role of the Judean Desert Monasteries in the Monothelite Controversy in Seventh-Century Palestine," in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 98 (Louvain: Peeters, 2001), 299.

38 On this person, see Brock, "An Early Syriac Life," 332–36.

39 On this genre, see John Wortley, "The Genre of the Spiritually Beneficial Tale," *Scripta & e–Scripta* 8–9 (2010): 71–91; John Wortley, "Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell in Byzantine 'Beneficial Tales'," *DOP* 55 (2001): 53–69; André Binggeli, "Collections of Edifying Stories," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography. Vol. 2: Genres and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 143–59. For attempts to catalogize this diverse material, attested in Greek, see François Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, Subsidia Hagiographica 8a, 3rd ed. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957), 3:175–82, 191–214; John Wortley, "The Repertoire of Byzantine 'Spiritually Beneficial Tales'," *Scripta & e-Scripta* 8–9 (2010): 93–306. For a seminal discussion of this genre in the larger context of late antique hagiography, see Claudia Rapp, "Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of *Diegesis*," *JECS* 6 (1998): 431–48.

40 Most of specimens of this genre in Syriac are represented by stories that circulate as single units and are still unpublished.

41 Cf. John Chrysostom, *Homily on 1 Corinthians* (PG 61: 29); *Homily on 1 Thessalonians.* (PG 62:430, 450).

42 Tertullian, *On Patience* 9; Rudolph Arbesmann, Emily J. Daly, and Edwin A. Quain, trans., *Tertullian: Disciplinary, Moral, and Ascetic Works*, FOTC 40 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1959), 208–09.

43 Jerome, *Letters* 39; William H. Fremantle, George Lewis, and William G. Martley, trans., *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, NPNF 2.6 (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1893): 49–54.

44 John Chrysostom, *Homilies on John* 62; Sister Thomas Aquinas Goggin, trans., *Saint John Chrysostom: Commentary on Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist: Homilies 48–88*, FOTC 41 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1960), 174.

45 For examples, see Samellas, *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 13–15.

46 See Harrison, "Children in Paradise."

47 Basil of Caesarea, *Letters* 300; Roy J. Deferrari, ed., *Saint Basil: The Letters*, Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1926–1934), 4:222–23.

48 Cf. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Lazarus* 5.3 (PG 48: 1021); Timothy Airoulos, *Letter to Arbikəya*; Getatchew Haile, "An Ethiopic Letter of Timothy II of Alexandria Concerning the Death of Children," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 38:1 (1987): 53–54.

49 For the English translation, see Haile, "Ethiopic Letter of Timothy II," 53–55.
50 On visions in the culture of late antique monasticism, see Barbara Krönung, "Ekstasen und andere Formen von Visionserfahrungen in der frühbyzantinischen monastischen Literatur," in *Traum und Vision in der Vormoderne: Traditionen, Diskussionen, Perspektiven*, ed. Annette Gerok-Reiter and Christine Walde (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 65–90; Barbara Krönung, *Gottes Werk und Teufels Wirken: Traum, Vision, Imagination in der frühbyzantinischen monastischen Literatur*, Millennium-Studien/ Millennium Studies 45 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014).
51 For the text, see Gesa Schenke,"Die Trauer um ein kleines Mädchen: Eine Bitte um Trost," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 127 (1999): 117–22. For a discussion of this letter, see also Kotsifou, " 'Being Unable to Come'," 400–01.
52 Kimberley Ch. Patton, "'A Great and Strange Correction': Intentionality, Locality, and Epiphany in the Category of Dream Incubation," *History of Religions* 43 (2004): 194.
53 On pre-Christian incubatory practices of the Graeco-Roman world, see Mary A. Hamilton, *Incubation or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches* (London: W. C. Henderson & Son, 1906); Louise Cilliers and François P. Retief, "Dream Healing in Asclepieia in the Mediterranean," in *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Steven M. Oberhelman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 69–92.
54 On various aspects of Christian incubation during late antiquity, see Robert Wiśniewski, "Looking for Dreams and Talking with Martyrs: The Internal Roots of Christian Incubation," *SP* 63: 11 (2013): 203–08; Jean-Marie Sansterre, "Apparitions et miracles à Menouthis: De l'incubation païenne à l'incubation chrétienne," in *Apparitions et miracles*, ed. Alain Dierkens, Problèmes d'histoire des religions 2 (Brussels: Université de Bruxelles, 1991), 69–83; Stavroula Constantinou, "Healing Dreams in Early Byzantine Miracle Collections," in *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Steven M. Oberhelman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 189–97; Ildikó Csepregi, "Who Is behind Incubation Stories? The Hagiographers of Byzantine Dream Healing Miracles," in *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Steven M. Oberhelman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 161–88; Thomas Pratsch, " '. . . erwachte und war geheilt': Inkubations darstellungen in byzantinischen Heiligenviten," *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 17 (2013): 68–86.
55 See the five major collections, mentioned above, p. 216.
56 For an English translation, see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 133.
57 See Claudine M. Dauphin, "From Apollo and Asclepius to Christ: Pilgrimage and Healing at the Temple and Episcopal Basilica of Dor," *Liber Annuus* 49 (1999): 397–430.
58 See Alwis, *Celibate Marriages*, 251–52, 258–59; Wortley, *Anonymous Sayings*, 446–49.
59 Hamilton, *Incubation or the Cure of Disease*, 114.
60 See Rochelle Snee, "Gregory Nazianzen's Anastasia Church: Arianism, the Goths, and Hagiography," *DOP* 52 (1998): 157–86.
61 Sozomen, Ecclesiatical History 7.5.1–3; Joseph Bidez and Günther Ch. Hansen, eds., *Sozomenus: Kirchengeschichte*, GCS NF 4, 2nd rev. ed. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 306; Chester D. Hartranft, trans., "The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen, Comprising a History of the Church from A.D. 323 to A.D. 425," NPNF 2.2: (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1890): 379.
62 Tim Vivian, trans., *Saint Macarius, the Spiritbearer: Coptic Texts Relating to Saint Macarius the Great* (Crestwood, N.Y: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2004), 155.
63 On this phenomenon, see Núria M. Farré-i-Barril, "Sleep Deprivation: Asceticism, Religious Experience and Neurological Quandaries," in *Religion and the Body: Modern Science and the Construction of Religious Meaning*, ed. David Cave and Rebecca S. Norris, Numen Book Series 138 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 217–34.
64 Sozomen, *Ecclesiatical History* 7.5.1–3 (ed. Bidez & Hansen, 306; trans. Hartranft, 379).

65 See Charles Houze,"Sancti Georgii Chozebitæ confessoris et monachi vita auctore Antonio ejus discipulo," *AB* 7 (1888): 360–63.
66 *Miracles of Artemios* 12; Virgil S. Crisafulli and John W. Nesbitt, trans., *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium*, The Medieval Mediterranean 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 98–101.
67 See John Cotsonis, "The Contribution of Byzantine Lead Seals to the Study of the Cult of the Saints (6th–12th Century)," *Byzantion* 75 (2005): 400–04.
68 Derek Krueger, "Mary at the Threshold: The Mother of God as Guardian in Seventh-Century Palestinian Miracle Accounts," in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 31–38.
69 John of Damascus, *Homilies on the Dormition* 1.13; P. Bonifatius Kotter, ed., *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, V: Opera homiletica et hagiographica*, Patristische Texte und Studien 29 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 499; Brian E. Daley, trans., *On the Dormition of Mary: Early Patristic Homilies* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1998), 198.
70 John of Damascus, *Homilies on the Dormition* 2.17 (ed. Kotter, 535–36; trans. Daley, 221–22).
71 Célestin Chevalier, *La Mariologie de Saint Jean Damascène*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 109 (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1936), 177.
72 See Gregory W. Dobrov, "A Dialogue with Death: Ritual Lament and the θρῆνος Θεοτόκου of Romanos Melodos," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 35 (1994): 385–404.
73 Rapp, "Storytelling as Spiritual Communication," 444.
74 See Alwis, *Celibate Marriages*, 251, 258; Wortley, *Anonymous Sayings*, 446–47.
75 Cf. *Life of Mary the Younger* 4; Alice-Mary M. Talbot, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation 1 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 258–59.
76 See Brian E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 137–39; Jeffrey A. Trumbower, *Rescue for the Dead: The Posthumous Salvation of Non-Christians in Early Christianity*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
77 See Albert de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 133 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 420–21.
78 Fereydun Vahman, ed., *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag: The Iranian "Divina Commedia,"* Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies: Monograph Series 53 (London: Curzon, 1986), 200.
79 Werner Sundermann, ed., *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients, Berliner Turfantexte 4 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1973), 90. For an English translation, see Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), 191.
80 See on this Leor Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 114–42; Daniella Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety in Medieval Syria: Mosques, Cemeteries and Sermons under the Zangids and Ayyūbids (1146–1260)*, Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 168–72.
81 المیت یعذب في قبره بالنیاحة علیه; Samīr Majdhūb and Muḥammad Salīm Ibrāhīm Samārah, eds., *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 8 vols. (Bayrūt–Dimashq: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1993), 1:33, ḥadith #180. Cf. also ḥadith #354; ibid., 1:61.
82 See Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave*, 125.
83 Both Syriac texts are reproduced here as closely as possible to how they appear in the manuscripts, with the exception of a few small corrections made to assist the reader, such as the addition of the sign of *seyame* and of the final *yod* (marked by brackets []) in

the cases of irregular spelling listed above (p. 212). I would like to express my gratitude to Sebastian Brock and Ora Limor for their helpful remarks on an earlier version of this paper.

84 Compare Gen 37:35.

85 Compare Gen 37:35.

86 The form ,ܐܚܝ is a corruption of ,ܡܐܚܝ "his brother" or ,ܡܐܚܘܗܝ "his brothers." The latter seems to be preferable in this context.

87 As noted above, the form ܬܚܠܝ, which literally means "fill her," is a result of the careless abbreviation of the original ܬܚܠܛ ܠܝܬ, "console her."

88 1 Thes 4:13.

11 Apocalyptic poems in Christian and Jewish liturgy in late antiquity

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Cross-cultural comparisons are powerful analytical tools not only by virtue of the similarities they reveal but also because of the differences they expose. This chapter compares two liturgical poems of late antiquity – one Christian, the other Jewish – both of which are rich in apocalyptic imagery. The first is a *kontakion*, a hymn or chanted sermon, by Romanos the Melodist, the greatest liturgical poet of sixth-century Byzantine Christianity.[1] The second is a *piyyut*, a Hebrew liturgical poem, of disputed authorship and composed, by all appearances, in Palestine in roughly the same period.[2] Our understanding of each of these works is enhanced by their juxtaposition, which reveals thematic affinity and a common cultural milieu but at the same time highlights differences that might otherwise go unappreciated. Within the broader context of apocalyptic literature, the two poems pose comparable methodological challenges for the interpreter and have in fact occasioned similar misreadings.

"Apocalyptic" is a slippery term. For the purposes of this chapter, a simple, functional definition will suffice: here it describes poems that relate eschatological scenarios under the influence of those prose works conventionally labeled "apocalypses."[3] The most important of these is the biblical book of Daniel, shared by Jews and Christians alike. Romanos makes use of the Book of Revelation and betrays other literary influences as well. Our Jewish poet is apparently familiar with the *Book of Zerubbabel*, the most prominent Hebrew apocalypse from late antiquity, or at the very least exploits a body of tradition closely related to that work.[4] The interest expressed by both our authors in the Eschaton is more than academic. In the case of Romanos, the sense of urgency is occasionally explicit. The Hebrew poem is more elusive, but the circumstantial evidence of other Jewish sources – the *Book of Zerubbabel* in particular – suggests that its author is likewise writing in an age of heightened eschatological anticipation.

Sixth-century Constantinople and Romanos's *On the Second Coming*

At the center of the first part of this discussion stands a hymn by Romanos, *On the Second Coming*, his most graphic and sustained eschatological pronouncement.[5] Two other poems by the same author are also commonly noted in this context: *On Earthquakes and Fires* and one of his hymns *On the Ten Virgins*.[6] The former

was written in the wake of the Nika riots of 532 and the earthquakes which shook Constantinople at that time; it alludes also to the reconstruction of Hagia Sophia by Justinian, a project begun in 532 and completed in 537, and may reasonably be dated to that period.[7] Its message is one of comfort. In what amounts to a panegyric to the emperor Justinian, Romanos seeks to allay implicit fears of apocalyptic catastrophe. In *On the Ten Virgins*, on the other hand, disastrous current events are understood to signal that the end is near.[8]

On the Second Coming is a liturgical call to penitence. Its precise date is unknown; one of the arguments for dating in fact revolves around a passage whose interpretation will be discussed below. Derek Krueger notes that it is assigned in the medieval manuscript tradition to Meatfare Sunday, a week before Lent, but adds that we cannot establish with certainty that this was the occasion for which Romanos himself intended it, nor do we know which lection it accompanied.[9] As it stands, the poem serves to arouse the congregation to repentance in anticipation of the approaching Lenten season, while the fearful expectation of the Last Judgment sets the tone. Roger Scott and others have included Romanos's *On the Second Coming* – correctly in my opinion – among those mid-sixth-century texts attesting to increasingly widespread anticipation of a catastrophic End of Days.[10] It should thus be read as more than just a call for individual penitence within a yearly ritual cycle. In the raw apocalypticism embraced in his eschatological narrative, Romanos draws not only on Revelation, Daniel, 2 Thessalonians, and other biblical sources but also on extra-biblical traditions found in the body of Greek texts attributed to Ephrem the Syrian (the so-called Ephrem Graecus), a corpus desperately in need of further study.[11] Romanos borrows liberally and with unapologetic literalism from all of these. He implicitly participates – and includes his audience – in the contemporary discussion of the End of Days.[12]

Let us take a closer look at selected passages in *On the Second Coming*. The setting of the hymn is announced in the prelude, which reads:

> When you come upon the earth, O God, in glory,
> and the whole universe trembles,
> while a river of fire flows before the seat of judgment,
> and books are opened and all the secrets are disclosed,
> then deliver me from the unquenchable fire
> and count me worthy to stand at your right hand,
> *Judge most just.*[13]

Further on Romanos makes explicit reference to two of the most important biblical apocalypses: the books of Revelation and Daniel. Of the latter he writes:

> Daniel, inspired by God, clearly foretold all that will come to pass,
> if we inquire closely,
> when he says, "For one week I shall establish a covenant," and at once he added,

"For half of the week, the pride of the worship will be removed."
And he explains that, for three years and a half a year, one pair of saints will proclaim the second coming.
But, for a further equal time, the unjust Antichrist will lord it,
dreadfully punishing those who await you.
Judge most just.[14]

Romanos portrays in verse a familiar scheme of apocalyptic chronology constructed out of opaque biblical allusions, particularly those in Daniel 9:25–27 and Revelation 11:2–3. From these we are led to expect an eschatological "week" of seven years divided in half: three and a half years of proclamation by the two saints described in Revelation (conventionally identified in the previous stanza with Enoch and Elijah), followed by three and a half years of the Antichrist's tyranny.

Displaying frequent agreement with Ephrem Graecus, Romanos proceeds to dwell at length upon the future deeds of the Antichrist. As the distorted mirror image of Christ, the Antichrist "will be born from an unclean woman" and will pretend "that a virgin gives him birth."[15] He "will be worshipped as a god by those who have been led astray by his illusions."[16] Among his signs, the Antichrist "changes himself from one form to another," and "he flies into the air."[17] As several scholars have argued, Romanos's preoccupation with the Antichrist should probably be read in the context of other sixth-century evidence of apocalyptic anxiety in Byzantium. But how far may we press this point? It has been claimed that the passage preceding the signs is particularly timely and should be read as an implicit attack on Justinian, who – according to this interpretation – is accused of being the Antichrist incarnate. Here I wish to take issue. Romanos says the following:

Then he will make for himself a special temple, deceiving the Hebrew nation and others – the lawless one,
when he performs fabricated illusions and signs, the tyrant.[18]

Scott and others have taken this to be a veiled allusion to Justinian's restoration of Hagia Sophia. They propose that the entire kontakion was composed some years after *On Earthquakes and Fires*.[19] According to this argument, in changed circumstances Romanos intentionally subverted his earlier encomium by invoking the same act of restoration as evidence that Justinian is in fact the Antichrist. Some clarification is in order. According to 2 Thessalonians 2:3–4, the eschatological "man of lawlessness" – commonly identified in Patristic exegesis as the Antichrist – will sit in "the temple of God." In context, the reference is to the Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem, which is how the matter was widely understood in Christian apocalyptic tradition for hundreds of years before Romanos and for many hundreds more after him.[20] It is also what we find in a sermon of Ephrem Graecus, who once again appears to be a source of inspiration for Romanos.[21] As we have seen, Romanos himself explicitly strings together the Antichrist's construction of the Temple with his deception of the Jews, and it is difficult to see

why this traditional forecast should be taken to refer to anything other than the Jewish Temple. Justinian's record also makes him a poor candidate for the position of an Antichrist who pretends to appease the Jews.[22]

It follows that there is no need to resolve an alleged contradiction between *On Earthquakes and Fires* and *On the Second Coming*, a contradiction arising from the assumption that both refer to the construction of the same place of worship. This does not appear to be the case. In the former work, Romanos writes of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem:

> The people of Israel lost their Temple. In its place we now have
> the churches of the Resurrection and Sion,
> which Constantine and the faithful Helena
> gave to the world,
> two hundred and fifty years after the destruction of the Temple.
> But here in the Imperial City people began the task
> of raising the churches only one day after their fall.
> The project gleams in glory and is being brought to perfection.
> The emperor and empress are proud of their generosity;
> but it is the Lord who gives eternal life.[23]

On the other hand, in *On the Second Coming* Romanos attributes to the Antichrist the future restoration of the Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. Nothing compels us to interpret this as a reference to Justinian and a reversal of Romanos's earlier rhetoric, as if he were now surreptitiously using the restoration of Hagia Sofia as ammunition against the emperor.

In favor of the latter interpretation, Manolis Papoutsakis has compared *On the Second Coming* to the fifteenth *Catechetical Oration* of Cyril of Jerusalem. Whereas according to 2 Thessalonians 2:3–4 "the man of lawlessness" is expected to *sit* in the temple of God, Cyril – like Romanos after him – says that the Antichrist is expected to *build* a temple.[24] Following Oded Irshai's careful and convincing reading of Cyril's sermon as a response to the emperor Julian's failed attempt at rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem, Papoutsakis argues by analogy that Romanos recast the emperor Justinian in the mold of the emperor Julian with the intention of branding the former as the Antichrist on account of the rebuilding of Hagia Sophia.[25] The analogical argument is, however, problematic. If Cyril teaches us anything, it is that we should take seriously Romanos's talk of the Antichrist building a temple for the Jews – not a church for the Christians. Indeed, Romanos's remark about the Antichrist's construction of the Temple and deception of the Jews is reminiscent of Cyril's declaration that if the Antichrist "is to come as Christ to the Jews, and wants their worship, with a view to deceiving them further, he will manifest the greatest zeal for the Temple."[26] Furthermore, Cyril is hardly the first author to declare that the Antichrist is destined to restore the Jewish Temple. For example, long before Cyril and Julian, Hippolytos explained that just as Christ manifested his body as a spiritual temple, the Antichrist will build the Temple of stone in Jerusalem.[27]

As a rule, one should not hasten to interpret apocalyptic forecasts of the restoration of the Temple in Jerusalem as prophecy after the fact – that is, as current events cloaked in the language of apocalyptic expectation. The reason is simple. The expectation, following 2 Thessalonians, that the Antichrist will sit in the Temple practically makes the reconstruction of that holy place a logical necessity in the eschatological speculation of literal-minded readers. The point was already well made by Wilhelm Bousset, who observed that "if the Antichrist is to be seated in the Temple of Jerusalem, then the Temple must exist, and must consequently be re-erected after the destruction of Jerusalem."[28] To put it bluntly, if the Antichrist is to find a place to sit, he will have to prepare it himself. This is as true in a kontakion by Romanos as it is anywhere else, and it may serve as a reminder of the hazards inherent in the effort to distinguish the timely from the timeless in liturgical texts that draw upon apocalyptic tradition. We will see below that a similar dynamic is at work in Jewish literature in late antiquity and among its interpreters.

Before proceeding to a comparison with the Hebrew piyyut, I would like to dwell briefly on one more passage in *On the Second Coming* that will be of interest to us later. Describing the tribulations of the End of Days, Romanos says that

> psalms and hymns will cease,
> nor will there be Liturgy or hallowing, offering or incense,
> because, for three times and a half, the sacrifice will be taken away, as it is written.[29]

The biblical source in this instance is Daniel 9:27: "He shall make a strong covenant with many for one week, and for half of the week he shall make sacrifice and offering cease; and in their place shall be an abomination that desolates, until the decreed end is poured out upon the desolator." Since in the preceding verses of Daniel we learn of the future restoration and rebuilding of Jerusalem, the plain meaning in the kontakion would seem to be that the renewal of the cult will be aborted and the Temple desecrated for three and a half years; this is also how the verses are understood in the Hebrew poem discussed below. Krueger has pointed out, however, that Romanos understands the prophecy to mean that the earthly liturgy of the eucharist will cease at the End of Days. Krueger argues that in the eyes of Romanos, that worship will come to an end because the fundamentally penitential function of the eucharist will ultimately become obsolete.[30]

On the Second Coming versus *The Time to Rebuke the Beast of the Forest*

On the Second Coming of Romanos was one of the first of his works to be subjected by modern scholars to an extended comparison with a Hebrew liturgical poem – but not for the best of reasons. Over sixty years ago, Eric Werner argued that together with the later Catholic *Dies irae*, *On the Second Coming* bears a family resemblance to the Jewish High Holy Day piyyut, *Unetaneh tokef*, the centerpiece of the liturgy for Rosh Hashanah (the Jewish New Year) and the Day of

Atonement.[31] He concluded from these similarities – real or imagined – that both Christian hymns had their roots in Jewish liturgy. Werner's argument has not fared well in modern scholarship.[32] Some of the alleged similarities are illusory and ignore context altogether; most are easily explained as arising from independent exploitation of similar biblical verses. In addition, Werner indiscriminately identifies passages that in the Jewish piyyut refer to the annual judgment of humanity in the High Holiday season with passages in *On the Second Coming* that refer to the Last Judgment at the End of Days. But perhaps we should not be too hard on Werner. In its pre-Lenten liturgical setting, *On the Second Coming* is, after all, a penitential hymn as well. Shorn of its exaggeration and misrepresentation, the argument does, at the very least, force us to consider the shared imagery of divine judgment.[33]

There is, however, another piyyut that invites comparison to *On the Second Coming*, though its liturgical function is altogether different. *The Time to Rebuke the Beast of the Forest*, a poem published in 1985 by Ezra Fleischer, adorned the statutory prayer for the Ninth of Av, the traditional day of mourning for the destruction of the First and Second Temples.[34] Piyyutim for the Ninth of Av are not exclusively sorrowful lamentations. Some, such as *The Time to Rebuke the Beast of the Forest*, expound themes of messianic redemption, and their purpose is consolatory.[35] Fleischer attributed the poem to Eleazar berabbi Qalir, the preeminent Hebrew poet of late antiquity – the Jewish Romanos, as it were. The chronology of the great Hebrew poets of late antiquity is vague at best, and Fleischer was convinced that the first part of this ostensibly Qalirian poem demonstrated conclusively that the author witnessed the conquest of Byzantine Palestine by the Persians between 614 and 628 CE, as well as the subsequent brief resumption of Byzantine rule. Though the second part of the poem as restored and published by Fleischer is undoubtedly the work of Qalir, Joseph Yahalom has shown that the two halves do not belong to the same composition and has questioned their attribution to a single author.[36] I will focus here not on the question of the author's identity but on the problem of the alleged historical references in the first portion of the work. In his apocalyptic scenario, replete with biblical allusions, the poet describes the anticipated fall of Rome (the "beast of the forest," following Psalm 80:14), which will be conquered by "Assyria," probably a reference to Persia.[37] The Temple cult will be briefly restored, and over the restoration will preside the Messiah son of Joseph ("Chief Stronghold," "Anointed of War"), who will precede the Davidic Messiah.[38] The Messiah son of Joseph will be killed by "Armileus," the Jewish version of the Antichrist,[39] who will suspend the Temple cult and persecute the Jews for three and a half years. These are the sections of greatest interest for the purposes of this discussion.

I begin with a provisional English translation of the poem's opening stanzas, striving for literality at the expense of elegance and keeping explanatory comments to a minimum:[40]

> The time to rebuke the beast of the forest,
> To confound her with tempest and with storm.
> For she of the forest has gnawed at the vine (of Israel),

Hence (God) will deliver her by storm
Into the hands of the ruddy one and the hirsute one.[41]
In return for tormenting the beloved son from his youth,
She will lose her acumen and be like a fool.

Assyria will come upon her,
And establish his palace within her borders,
And ravage all her tents.
All her idols will be shamed,
And all her images will be disgraced.
He will cause her to panic with fright,
Bequeathing her to jackdaws and owls,
Quashing her deeds,
Wiping out all her soldiers.
He will cast her into the heart of the sea,
And plunge her into the abyss,
And darken her with a line of chaos,
And heap upon her[42] stones of emptiness.

The holy people will be briefly at ease,
For Assyria will permit them to found the holy Temple,
And there they will build the holy altar,
And on it they will offer holy sacrifices,
But they will not manage to establish the holy mount,
The shoot not having yet come forth from the holy stump.

First, my Chief Stronghold will enter
The little Temple, seeking the people,
And he will be appointed leader and chief.
After some three months he will raise his head,
And the Chief Prince will come upon him
And will plow him under in the little Temple,
And his blood will clot on the bare rock.

The earth shall lament, each (family) unto itself,
That the Anointed of War has perished.
The mourning for him will weigh heavily,
And the enemy will weigh heavily on the people.
That is the top stone that shall be erected.
That is the little horn that the precious (Daniel) saw,
Which stood among ten horns,
Whose measure is to overthrow three horns.
The holy people will be devastated,
And it will be decreed that they must apostatize.

His name is Armileus,
He will be brought to crush and destroy.
He will be established to exterminate and to annihilate.
He will erect an idol in his own name,

And he will destroy those who do not bow down,
And spill the blood of those who do not give obeisance,
And through it (the idol) he will blaspheme God and His people.
He (Armileus) will oppress those carried since leaving His womb
And will trample and crush His footstool.

He will speak words against the Most High
And will confound the holy ones of the Most High.
He will profane times and law,
And he will ravage everything for a time, times, and half a time.
And he includes all his idols,[43]
To worship, give obeisance, bow, and praise. . . .

Although piyyut consistently displays great affinity to rabbinic literature, that is barely true in this instance. Our text is better understood in light of Jewish apocalypses of late antiquity – particularly the *Book of Zerubbabel* – and Christian apocalyptic works, among them the kontakion of Romanos. The Jewish apocalypses, though not necessarily *anti*-rabbinic, hardly qualify as rabbinic compositions.

As in Romanos's hymn, here too we encounter the anticipated restoration of the Temple in Jerusalem or, more precisely, the foundation of the altar and renewal of the sacrificial cult on the site of the Temple as the first stage of its restoration:

The holy people will be briefly at ease,
For Assyria will permit them to found the holy Temple,
And there they will build the holy altar,
And on it they will offer holy sacrifices.

Parallels in the *Book of Zerubbabel* have been invoked as evidence for the temporary restoration of sacrifice by Jews on the Temple Mount during the short-lived period of Persian rule. Fleischer embraced this interpretation in his reading of the Hebrew poem, which in his opinion may even have preserved a more pristine account of the alleged event.[44] But, as in the case of *On the Second Coming*, here again there are good reasons to be wary of a historicizing reading of an apocalyptic text. First, the assumption that the *Book of Zerubbabel* is fundamentally a historical apocalypse reflecting the period of the Persian conquest in the seventh century must be rejected. An examination of all the manuscript evidence reveals that, according to the earliest version of the text, the Messiah was expected to make his appearance around the year 570 CE; the date suggests that the early version is actually roughly contemporaneous with the works of Romanos.[45] Furthermore, there is, to date, no evidence that the Jews in fact renewed the Temple cult in Jerusalem under the Persians in the seventh century.[46] The historicizing reading of the poem and of the *Book of Zerubbabel* is thus not based on agreement with documentation of such an event in the historical record but rather on the problematic assumption that these apocalyptic texts must be narrating "prophecy" after the fact. This premise is revealed to be all the more hazardous when we recognize

that for Jewish readers of Daniel, belief in the renewal of the Temple cult on the verge of the appearance of the anti-Messiah was an exegetical imperative in much the same way as the restoration of the Temple by the Antichrist was a logical necessity for Christian readers of 2 Thessalonians.

We must take a closer look at Daniel to see why this is so. In the apocalyptic visions of that book we repeatedly encounter the notion that the Temple sacrifices will be suspended by the eschatological enemy of Israel for a period of three and a half years. For example, in Daniel 8:11–14 we read of the "little horn": "Even against the prince of the host it acted arrogantly; it took the regular burnt offering away from him and overthrew the place of his sanctuary." Overhearing an angelic conversation, Daniel learns that the desolation of the sanctuary will persist "for two thousand three hundred evenings and mornings; then the sanctuary shall be restored to its rightful state." A similar prophecy appears in Daniel 11:31 and then again in Daniel 12:11, at the conclusion of a lengthy vision whose archvillain is identified as the King of the North, who will exalt himself above all gods. Most important for understanding *The Time to Rebuke the Beast of the Forest* is the difficult passage in Daniel 9:26–27:

> After the sixty-two weeks, an anointed one shall be cut off and shall have nothing, and the troops of the prince who is to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary. . . . He shall make a strong covenant with many for one week, and for half of the week he shall make sacrifice and offering cease; and in their place shall be an abomination that desolates, until the decreed end is poured out upon the desolator.

It matters little that the villain envisioned cryptically in these verses was originally Antiochus IV and that they were composed long before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. For any Jewish reader after that time who saw the prophecies of Daniel as a template for the End of Days, the future restoration of the cult prior to the appearance of the anti-Messiah was a simple and necessary presumption, without which the verses make no sense.

Rabbinic literature is largely reticent regarding apocalyptic speculation and volunteers little explicit exegesis of these verses.[47] On the other hand, patristic literature does, ironically, preserve for us a reading of Daniel 9:26–27 by a controversial fourth-century Christian theologian which is suggestive of that which I have described as "Jewish." Though unfairly accused of Judaizing by his detractors, Apollinaris of Laodicea did believe that Jews would rebuild the Temple, not as stooges of the Antichrist, but as a step towards the ultimate salvation of the Church of the Circumcision.[48] In his *Commentary on Daniel*, Jerome quotes Apollinaris's interpretation of Daniel 9:24–27:

> Then[49] Jerusalem and the Temple shall be rebuilt by Elijah . . . for three and a half years in the final week (of years). And the Antichrist shall come, and according to the Apostle he shall sit in the temple of God and be slain by the breath of our Lord and Savior after he has waged war against the saints. And thus it shall come to pass that the middle of the week shall mark the

> confirmation of God's covenant with the saints, and the middle of the week in turn shall mark the issuing of the decree under the authority of the Antichrist that no more sacrifices be offered. For the Antichrist shall set up the abomination of desolation, that is, an idol or statue of his own god, within the Temple.[50]

Apollinaris correctly identifies the latent connection between Daniel and 2 Thessalonians. He also states outright that which is implicit in the piyyut: Daniel teaches us that the anti-Messiah will suspend the sacrifices of the Jews for three and a half years, which in prevailing circumstances means that the Jews must first renew the Temple cult. According to Apollinaris, that restoration will take place with the help of Elijah.

Daniel in fact provides the author of the piyyut with the fundamental building blocks of his poetic narrative. From Daniel we learn that the King of the North will come to Jerusalem, that he will kill an anointed one, that he will put an end to the Temple cult for three and a half years, and that in its place he will establish an idol and persecute the Jews, forcing them to worship the idol till the final redemption. Needless to say, it is imperative to read the piyyut and the *Book of Zerubbabel* in light of earlier apocalyptic tradition before making far-reaching claims of *vaticinia ex eventu*.[51] Fleischer may very well be correct in attributing the piyyut to Qalir, who, even before the discovery of the poem, was considered by various scholars to be an author of the late sixth or early seventh century. Nothing, however, obliges us to read the text as a description of recent events wrapped in a pretense of apocalyptic prophecy and to conclude that Jews renewed the sacrificial cult on the Temple Mount during the brief period of Persian rule.[52] This, of course, is reminiscent of what I argued earlier regarding *On the Second Coming* of Romanos. Neither the Christian kontakion nor the Jewish piyyut should be exempt from the principles governing the critical study of apocalyptic literature.

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I have stressed the importance of reading our apocalyptic liturgical poems in the broader context of nonliturgical texts and traditions. What difference, then, does liturgy make? First of all, we must not overlook the novelty of the very existence of these two compositions, which introduce apocalyptic themes to the liturgy of the Byzantine church and the Palestinian synagogue. In neither of these institutions were the eschatological constructions of apocalyptic literature a conventional fixture. In contrast to the Latin West, the canonical status of Revelation in the East was precarious. It was absent from the Greek lectionary, and even its mark on Byzantine church art was more limited than in the West. Its use by Romanos is thus noteworthy.[53] Similarly, in rabbinic literature Daniel was handled gingerly and other Jewish apocalypses of the Second Temple era were studiously avoided, while the non-rabbinic *Book of Zerubbabel* was itself a relatively late composition. Eschatological themes are not lacking in earlier piyyut, but *The Time to Rebuke the Beast of the Forest* draws on different sources of inspiration and is representative of a new poetic form.[54]

Beyond the similarities, we have encountered significant conceptual and functional differences between the two poems. The disparities between the two visions of the End of Days are obvious enough, as are their roots. At the risk of gross oversimplification, we could say that one poet's Messiah is the other's Antichrist, and one poet's Christ is the other's "Armileus." The functional differences, however, are more subtle, but no less significant. How does it come about that, notwithstanding the thematic affinity between the two works, Romanos has bequeathed us a penitential poem, while the Jewish poet has produced a poem of consolation? Here lies a profound difference between two conceptions of the essence of the Eschaton. For Romanos and his audience, eschatology evokes fear and trembling: at the End of Days verdicts will be rendered, the fate of the individual will be determined, and the sheep will be separated from the goats. The annual penitential season and its spiritual exercises stand in the shadow of the final Day of Judgment, when personal salvation will hang in the balance. At that time, the devotees of the Antichrist – the Jews featuring prominently among them – will receive their comeuppance.

The liturgical cycle of the Jewish year has its own penitential season, culminating in the Day of Atonement. In the piyyut for the High Holy Days mentioned earlier, *Unetaneh tokef*, the congregation is graphically reminded that for the individual, the Day of Judgment is an annual ordeal, not an eschatological one.[55] Each year one must stand in the dock. On the other hand, Jewish Messianism does not, as a rule, emphasize personal salvation so much as national redemption. Anchored in covenantal assurances and the promises of biblical prophecy, the messianic age is perceived as the occasion of national restoration and of retribution for Israel's enemies. For the author of the piyyut it is a celebratory concept, literally "a consummation devoutly to be wished." *The Time to Rebuke the Beast of the Forest* was intended for recitation on the Ninth of Av, the anniversary of national catastrophe, but its eschatological message is one of consolation, a promise of collective redemption and deliverance from the hands of Daniel's Fourth Kingdom, the Roman Empire. Paradoxically, our two texts display a fundamental kinship precisely at the points of greatest confrontation between Judaism and Christianity, but upon closer examination we discover beneath the paradox an underlying coherence.

Notes

1 On Romanos see most recently Derek Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects: Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 29–65. Romanos' hymns will be cited according to the edition of *Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes*, ed. and trans. José Grosdidier de Matons, vol. 5, Sources chrétiennes 283 (Paris: Cerf, 1981). Biblical translations are taken from the New Revised Standard Version.

2 Scholarly literature on the topic of piyyut is overwhelmingly in Hebrew. For surveys in English, see Ezra Fleischer, "Piyyut," in *The Literature of the Sages*, pt. 2, *Midrash and Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science, and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature*, ed. Shmuel Safrai, Zeev Safrai, Joshua Schwartz, and Peter J. Tomson (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2006), 363–74; Joseph Yahalom,

"Piyyut in Byzantium," in *Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, ed. Robert Bonfil, Oded Irshai, Guy G. Stroumsa, and Rina Talgam (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 317–35. Broader questions regarding the relation between Hebrew and Aramaic piyyut on the one hand and Christian hymnography in Greek and Syriac on the other fall outside the scope of this paper. On some of these overarching issues see Ophir Münz-Manor, "Liturgical Poetry in the Late Antique Near East: A Comparative Approach," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 1 (2010): 336–61.

3 In turn, the most serviceable definition of "apocalypse" is that proposed by John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 5: "a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world." By this standard, the poems discussed here are certainly not apocalypses, though by virtue of their affinity to such texts, they may rightly be labeled "apocalyptic."

4 See Hillel I. Newman, "Dating *Sefer Zerubavel*: Dehistoricizing and Rehistoricizing a Jewish Apocalypse of Late Antiquity," *Adamantius* 19 (2013): 324–36. For an English translation of the *Book of Zerubbabel* and other Hebrew apocalypses of late antiquity see John C. Reeves, ed. and trans., *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic: A Post-rabbinic Jewish Apocalypse Reader* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

5 *Hymnes*, 5:209–67. For an English translation see Romanos, *On the Life of Christ: Kontakia*, trans. Ephrem Lash (San Francisco: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995), 219–30.

6 *Hymnes*, 5:455–99 and 5:271–327, respectively. Romanos composed two kontakia *On the Ten Virgins*; the reference here is to that numbered Hymn 51 in the edition of Grosdidier de Matons. For an English translation of *On Earthquakes and Fires* see Romanos, *Sacred Song from the Byzantine Pulpit*, trans. R. J. Schork (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 184–95.

7 Johannes Koder, "Imperial Propaganda in the Kontakia of Romanos the Melode," *DOP* 62 (2008): 278.

8 *On the Ten Virgins* 1 (*Hymnes*, 5:298–99). See Roger D. Scott, "Justinian's New Age and the Second Coming," chap. 19 in his *Byzantine Chronicles and the Sixth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 16–17.

9 Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 33–35; compare 182–86. Krueger notes that by the tenth century, the designated reading in Constantinople was Matthew 25:31–46, a portion of the so-called Little Apocalypse.

10 Scott, "Justinian's New Age," 13–22; Newman, "Dating *Sefer Zerubavel*," 334.

11 On the apocalyptic poems of Ephrem Graecus see Emmanouela Grypeou, "Ephraem Graecus, 'Sermo In Adventum Domini': A Contribution to the Study of the Transmission of Apocalyptic Motifs in Greek, Latin and Syriac Traditions in Late Antiquity," in *Graeco-Latina et Orientalia: Studia in honorem Angeli Urbani heptagenarii*, ed. Samir Khalil Samir and Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala (Córdoba: Oriens Academic, 2013), 165–79. On the debt of Romanos to Ephrem Graecus see especially Thomas M. Wehofer, "Untersuchungen zum Lied des Romanos auf die Wiederkunft des Herrn," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 154:5 (1907): 1–120.

12 Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 229n. 22, remarks: "The discourse of divine punishment was not usually an eschatological discourse in itself. More research into these issues would be helpful." This paper is in part an attempt at clarifying one aspect of Romanos's eschatology.

13 *On the Second Coming*, proem (*Hymnes*, 5:234–35); trans. Lash, 221.

14 *On the Second Coming* 6 (*Hymnes*, 5:240–43); trans. Lash, 223.

15 *On the Second Coming* 7 (*Hymnes*, 5:242–43); trans. Lash, 224. I cite Ephrem Graecus from the edition of *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri opera omnia quae exstant*, ed. J.

S. Assemani, P. Benedetti, and S. E. Assemani, 6 vols. (Rome, 1732–46). See Ephrem Graecus, *On the Second Coming of the Lord* (*Ephraem Syri opera omnia*, 3:137); Wilhelm Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, trans. A. H. Keane (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1896), 140–42; Wehofer, "Untersuchungen," 54–56.

16 *On the Second Coming* 8 (*Hymnes*, 5:244–45); trans. Lash, 224. Compare 2 Thess 2:4; Bousset, *Antichrist*, 160–61.

17 *On the Second Coming* 9 (*Hymnes*, 5:246–47); trans. Lash, 224. Cf. Ephrem Graecus, *Sermon on the Second Coming of the Lord, on the Consummation of the World, and on the Coming of Antichrist* (*Ephraem Syri opera omnia*, 2:222); Bousset, *Antichrist*, 146–51; Wehofer, "Untersuchungen," 67.

18 *On the Second Coming* 9 (*Hymnes*, 5:246–47); trans. Lash, 224.

19 Roger D. Scott, "Malalas, *The Secret History*, and Justianian's Propaganda," *DOP* 39 (1985): 108 n. 83; Scott, "Justinian's New Age," 13–22; Annamma Varghese, "Kaiserkritik in Two Kontakia of Romanos," in *Byzantine Narrative: Papers in Honour of Roger Scott*, ed. John Burke (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2006), 400–02; Manolis Papoutsakis, "The Making of a Syriac Fable: From Ephrem to Romanos," *Le Muséon* 120 (2007): 65–74.

20 Bousset, *Antichrist*, 160–63; Newman, "Dating *Sefer Zerubavel*," 334–35.

21 Wehofer, "Untersuchungen," 66, notes the affinity to Ephrem Graecus, *On the Second Coming of the Lord* (*Ephraem Syri opera omnia*, 3:138).

22 On Justinian's legislation concerning the Jews see Amnon Linder, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 356–411.

23 *On Earthquakes and Fires* 22 (*Hymnes*, 5:494–95). Translation from Romanos, *Sacred Song from the Byzantine Pulpit*, 193–94. Cf. Koder, "Imperial Propaganda," 281–82.

24 *Catechetical Oration* 15.15 (PG 33:889). For an English translation see Cyril of Jerusalem, *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem*, trans. Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1970), 62–63.

25 Papoutsakis, "The Making of a Syriac Fable," 63–64, 73–74. Compare Oded Irshai, "The Jerusalem Bishopric and the Jews in the Fourth Century: History and Eschatology," in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York: Continuum, 1999), 213–14.

26 Translation from *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem*, 2.62.

27 *On Christ and Antichrist* 6 (GCS 1/2, 8).

28 Bousset, *Antichrist*, 162; cf. Wehofer, "Untersuchungen," 65.

29 *On the Second Coming* 13 (*Hymnes*, 5:252–53); trans. Lash, 226.

30 Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, 110–11.

31 Eric Werner, "Hebrew and Oriental Christian Metrical Hymns: A Comparison," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23:2 (1950–1951): 424–28; Eric Werner, *The Sacred Bridge: The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium* (London: Dobson, 1959), 252–55.

32 See the critique of Werner's argument in John H. Planer, "The Provenance, Dating, Allusions, and Variants of *U-n'taneh tokef* and Its Relationship to Romanos's *Kontakion*," *Journal of Synagogue Music* 38 (2013): 166–92. For a comparative study of Romanos and the Hebrew poet Yannai see Cyril Aslanov, "Romanos the Melodist and Palestinian *Piyyut*: Sociolinguistic and Pragmatic Perspectives," in *Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, ed. Robert Bonfil et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 613–28.

33 On the reception of *Unetaneh tokef* in medieval Germany, including a comparison between Jewish and Christian conceptions of divine judgment, see Israel J. Yuval, "Gedichte und Geschichte als Weltgericht: Unetanne tokef, Dies irae und Amnon von Mainz," *Kalonymus* 8:4 (2005): 1–6.

34 Ezra Fleischer, "Solving the Qiliri Riddle" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 54 (1985): 383–427.

35 See Shulamit Elizur, "From Mourning to Comfort: On an Ancient Custom in the Afternoon Prayer of Tisha B'av" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 73 (2004): 125–38.

36 Joseph Yahalom, "The Transition of Kingdoms in Eretz Israel (Palestine) as Conceived by Poets and Homilists" [in Hebrew], *Shalem* 6 (1992): 6–7; Joseph Yahalom, *Poetry and Society in Jewish Galilee of Late Antiquity* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1999), 87–89. In a personal communication, Shulamit Elizur has argued that the Qalirian authorship proposed by Fleischer for the first text is indeed correct.

37 On various meanings of "Assyria" see Yahalom, "Transition of Kingdoms," 6; Yahalom, *Poetry and Society*, 88.

38 See Martha Himmelfarb, "The Messiah Son of Joseph in Ancient Judaism," in *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Raanan S. Boustan, Klaus Herrmann, Reimund Leicht, Annette Y. Reed, and Giuseppe Veltri (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 2:771–90.

39 See Lutz Greisiger, "Armilos – Vorläufer, Entstehung und Fortleben der Antichrist-Gestalt im Judentum," in *Der Antichrist: Historische und systematische Zugänge*, ed. Mariano Delgado and Volker Leppin (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2011), 207–40.

40 On the challenge of translating piyyut see Michael D. Swartz, "Translation and the Comprehensibility of Early Piyyut," in *Giving a Diamond: Essays in Honor of Joseph Yahalom on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Wout van Bekkum and Naoya Katsumata (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 39–50. The translation here is eclectic, based on the editions of Fleischer, "Solving the Qiliri Riddle," 412–14, and Yahalom, "Transition of Kingdoms," 6–7; Yahalom, *Poetry and Society*, 88–89.

41 The poet alludes to the Messiah son of David and to the prophet Elijah.

42 The proposed translation is based on a conjectural emendation, reading *yaṭpileha* in place of *yakhpileha* ("multiply") in Taylor-Schechter Ar. 37.99 (Friedberg Genizah Project catalogue number: C311723). For the rest of the verse see Isaiah 34:11.

43 The translation of the verse follows Taylor-Schechter Ar. 37.99.

44 Fleischer, "Solving the Qiliri Riddle," 398–406. Fleischer's opinion has been adopted by several scholars. See, for example, Gilbert Dagron's historical introduction to Gilbert Dagron and Vincent Déroche, "Juifs et Chrétiens dans l'Orient du VIIe siècle," *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991): 26–28; Hagith Sivan, "From Byzantine to Persian Jerusalem: Jewish Perspectives and Jewish/Christian Polemics," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 41 (2000): 286–93; Hagith Sivan, *Palestine in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 242; Lutz Greisiger, *Messias – Endkaiser – Antichrist: Politische apokalyptik unter Juden und Christen des Nahen Ostens am Vorabend der arabischen Eroberung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 70–72.

45 Newman, "Dating *Sefer Zerubavel*," 324–36.

46 Sivan, "From Byzantine to Persian Jerusalem," 292n. 38, states that Pseudo-Sebeos "also records the demolition of a small synagogue which had been built on the esplanade of the Temple Mount, undoubtedly the sanctuary of the piyyut." Sivan relies on the authority of a note in the commentary of James Howard-Johnston in *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, trans. R.W. Thomson, historical commentary by James Howard-Johnston (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 209. Pseudo-Sebeos, however, says nothing of the sort, nor does the commentary attribute to him such a claim. Examination of the literature cited by Howard-Johnston in his note reveals that the source of his remark concerning the demolition of a synagogue is in fact none other than Dagron's discussion of Fleischer's piyyut (see above, n. 44). Instead of corroborative evidence, what remains is a thoroughly circular argument. Elsewhere Pseudo-Sebeos does tell of an aborted attempt of the Jews to rebuild the Temple of Solomon following the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem (*Armenian History*, 102–03, 249), but that must not be confused with the period of Persian occupation.

47 For a survey of rabbinic eschatology, including its relation to apocalyptic literature, see Ephraim E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1975), 1: 649–92.

48 On the eschatology of Apollinaris see Laurence Vianès-Abou Samra, "L'eschatologie d'Apollinaire de Laodicée à travers les *Fragments sur les Psaumes*," *Annali di storia*

dell'esegesi 21 (2004): 331–71; cf. Hillel I. Newman, "Jerome's Judaizers," *JECS* 9 (2001): 442–43.

49 According to Apollinaris, the final "week" of years was due to begin in 482 CE.

50 Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*; S. *Hieronymi presbyteri opera*, CCSL 75A, 879. The translation is adapted from *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, trans. Gleason L. Archer, Jr. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1958), 104–05.

51 Even the incursion of "Assyrians" or Persians on the eve of the messianic redemption is anticipated in Jewish eschatology long before the seventh century. I hope to discuss this at greater length on another occasion.

52 Note that in the opinion of Yahalom, "Transition of Kingdoms," 7n. 23, the "historical" portion of the poem concludes with the Persian victory in Palestine, before the restoration of sacrifice on the Temple Mount.

53 See the remarks of Derek Krueger in his review of Eugenia Scarvelis Constantinou, *Guiding to a Blessed End: Andrew of Caesarea and His Apocalypse Commentary in the Ancient Church* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2014), in *JECS* 22 (2014): 599–601, with special mention of Romanos. It is only in the sixth and seventh centuries that we encounter the first Byzantine commentaries on the book of Revelation, by Oecumenios and Andrew of Caesarea respectively. On apocalyptic themes in early church art, particularly in the West, see Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Herrmann, Jr., *Pottery, Pavements, and Paradise: Iconographic and Textual Studies on Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 327–82.

54 For additional examples of apocalyptic piyyutim that appear to belong to the same era, see Yehuda Even-Shemuel, ed., *Midreshei Geula*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1954), 109–16; Joseph Yahalom, "On the Validity of Literary Works as Historical Sources" [in Hebrew], *Cathedra* 11 (1979): 125–33. Compare Wout Jac. van Bekkum, "Four Kingdoms Will Rule: Echoes of Apocalypticism and Political Reality in Late Antiquity and Medieval Judaism," in *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. Wolfram Brandes and Felicitas Schmieder (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 109–15.

55 On the tension between differing views in rabbinic thought on repentance as a prerequisite for Messianic redemption, see Urbach, *Sages*, 1: 649–92.

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